LIAQUAT ALI KHAN
LEADER AND STATESMAN

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QUAID-I-MILLAT

LIAQUAT ALI KHAN

Leader and Statesman

Edited by

PROF. ZIAUDDIN AHMAD

Karachi

The Oriental Academy

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To

My grandfather, Allama Mohyuddin Ahmad Jafri and my parents

Hafiz Sirajuddin Ahmad and Sayyedah Begum

who have shed the rays of knowledge

and learning on me.

Quaid-i-Millat House
Bath Island
Karachi

FOREWORD

It may sound strange, but writing a foreword to this book, "Quaid-i- Millat Liaquat Ali Khan—Leader and Statesman", is at once joyful and sad. Joyful because this publication is devoted to my own beloved husband, whose example, advice and courage have been an inspiration to the people of Pakistan. Sad, because it brings back feelings of the great loss to me and to Pakistan.

Quaid-i-Millat's calm, clear and unbiased judgement reduced mountains of confusion to molehills of mere routine difficulty; his kind and bantering humour brought events and people into proper focus; and, above all, his warm understanding, sympathy and knowledge of human nature engendered confidence in the ultimate good of the often tiring work.

The people of Pakistan derived their inspiration from the fire of his zeal and the example of his hard work, selflessness and intense faith in them ; for his faith and pride were genuine when he so often said, "I know my people, and I know that, given the opportunities, they are second to none."

What greater proof could there be of the qualities of leadership in him, than that, even 19 years after the dastardly hand of a hired assassin stilled the heart that truly beat for Pakistan, our people still remember him for his honesty of purpose and dedication to the high ideals and principles he believed in.

Professor Ziauddin Ahmad, a veteran journalist and author of several books, has been intimately associated with the freedom struggle, its leaders and its rank and file. He has brought out, in good measure, the Quaid-i-Millat's personality, his ardent love for humanity and his beloved people.

I believe that his book fulfils a gap in our history, and that it will be welcomed by all lovers of Pakistan and its ideology, and also those interested in the history of this great Muslim State.

Ra'ana Liaquat Ali Khan

Begum Ra'ana Liaquat Ali Khan,
N.I.

Dated the
24th September, 1970

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PREFACE

This volume completes an effort, begun a year ago to throw light on the builder of Pakistan, Quaid-i-Millat Liaquat Ali Khan and his significant role in the Freedom Movement with the founder and architect of Pakistan, Quaid-i-Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah. Being his "right-hand man" as the General Secretary of the All-India Muslim League for ten years he performed the most onerous and responsible duties with selfless devotion, intense patriotism, great industry and powerful grasp of facts which distinguished him head and shoulders above his contemporaries. I have compiled from the mass material of articles and editorials scattered at different places and tried to marshal them into one place for the help of the students and general readers. It is hoped this volume will be of interest to all those who want to learn about the heroes of the Pakistan Movement. Most of the articles belong to the period of 1951 and, therefore, they should be read in that light.

I have also attempted to epitomise the history of the Freedom Movement in this Sub-Continent from the sixteenth century right upto the establishment of Pakistan. This introduction will serve as a background for the understanding of the vast panorama about the eminent stalwarts and giant political, social and intellectual reformers who made immeasurable sacrifices to rejuvenate and reawaken the Muslims of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-Continent to reassert their political, cultural and economic hegemony. To facilitate the readers and make this volume more valuable, a number of documents on the history of the Pakistan Movement have been added in the form of appendices.

I am particularly indebted to the "Civil and Military Gazette", Karachi's Liaquat Memorial Number of November 25, 1951, "Liaquat the Man of Destiny," and various issues of "Dawn" and "Morning News", Karachi, from which I have drawn a number of best articles. I have made utmost efforts to select the most relevant material in this connection.

This volume owes an immense debt to Begum Liaquat Ali Khan's great kindness and sense of gracious hospitality shown to me by lending the most important photographs of the Quaid-i-Millat and also writing a learned and thought-provoking Foreword to this volume.

I must acknowledge with thanks the permission given to me by the Harvard University Press to reproduce some of the speeches and statements of Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan from their publication, 'Pakistan: the Heart of Asia,' and to our learned contributors and writers whose articles are included in this book.

I am grateful to Messrs. K. Sarwar Hasan of the Pakistan Institute of International Affairs and M. A. S. Khan for their kind advice and help. Thanks are also due to Mr. Azizul Hasan Siddiqui and the Asma Printers, Karachi, without whose co-operation and help the book would not have seen the light of day.

My wife Aziza Begum has helped me at every stage of the book, and I hope, she will accept it as an apology for long hours of silence and exclusiveness in the devotion of my literary activities.

KARACHI, Ziauddin Ahmad
September 28, 1970.

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Frontispiece Photograph by Mahmood & Co.

Introduction

EMERGENCE OF PAKISTAN

An objective study of history will reveal that the pristine spirit of Islam implanted on the Indo-Pakistan soil by the young Arab conqueror, Mohammad Ibn Qasim and his comrades in the 8th century A.D. lost its freshness with the lapse of centuries.

Emperor Akbar's Din-i-Ilahi had arrested the progress of Islamic ideals. It was a period of stagnation for the Muslims but there arose on the horizon a powerful reformer in the person of Sheikh Ahmad Sarhindi, generally known as Mujaddid-i-Alf-i-Thani (1562-1624). He stirred the depths of Muslim ideals and thought and brought an upsurge in their society.

This sturdy soldier of Islam left no stone unturned to wipe away all fetish and dogmas, innovations and un-Islamic rites and to install therein the ideal life of Islam. Detained in the fort of Gwalior by Emperor Jehangir, he was released after the revolt of Mahabat Khan. Thus, success crowned his efforts. Emperor Jehangir paid homage to him and conceded all his demands :

(1) Prohibition of prostration (Sijdah or Kornish),

(2) Restoration of mosques and prayer rooms to their original position and status

(3) Freedom of cow killing

(4) Appointment of religious officials like the Qazi, Muhtasib, Mufti and others in the State

(5) Reintroduction and enforcement of the laws of Shariah in the State

(6) Imposition of Jizyah or capitation tax on the Dhimmis

(7) Grant of general amnesty to all political prisoners.

These orientations re-established the Musalmans on this Sub-continent. There is no doubt, "The Mujaddid brought the Islamic Kingdom of India back to Islam. He induced the divines of Islam to the study of the Quran and Hadith, which they had neglected so long. He established that the Din or religion and not tasawwuf or mysticism is the indispensable thing for a Muslim." [1]

The dawn of the eighteenth century saw the beginning of the end of the Mughal might in the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent. The Great Mughals symbolised the highest watermark of cultural and political stability of the Muslims in the vast peninsula which is today divided into two separate States of Pakistan and India. The decline and disintegration of political power was rapid, and the political vacuum gave rise to an era of anarchy which gave a chance to the East India Company with their growing naval power to build up an Empire, governed from abroad. The British supplanted themselves on the Sub-continent by establishing a permanent factory at Surat in 1613. The next important landmark was the establishment of English settlements at Madras in 1640, Bombay in 1661 and Calcutta in 1690.

The sacking of Delhi by Nadir Shah in 1739, the loss of Afghanistan and the rise of Hindus under the Marathas in the south seriously undermined the Mughal Emperor's position in the country. The provincial governors or Nawabs took this opportunity to overthrow the suzerainty of the Central Government at Delhi and thus gave an easy let to European adventurers to mix themselves in their court intrigues.

SIRAJUDDAULAH

When Ali Vardi Khan became the ruler of Bengal (1741-1756) the British scheming, designing and nefarious activities became very sharp and they left no stone unturned to undermine the prestige, position and power of the Nawab. But the ruler was a man of considerable

[1] The Mujaddid's Conception of Tauhid by Dr. Burhan Ahmad Faruqui, pp. 18-19.

ability and possessed innate qualities of understanding and grasp of situation. He became fully aware of the British intrigue and conspiracy hatched against him, but he did not live long to counteract them.

The British strengthened their position at Calcutta and aligned themselves in trade and commerce with the Hindus, though outwardly the Hindus were not keen for a change as they were enjoying a peaceful and prosperous life. The British allured them with worldly temptations in order to achieve their objective. They diverted the sympathies of the Hindus with the Muslim rulers.

Major B.D. Basu thinks, "The Hindus of their own accord did not wish for a change. They were happy and prosperous under the rule of the followers of the Crescent...........But the Christian English, to make them serve as their cat's-paw, intrigued with the "heathen" Hindus and they must have placed some temptations before the latter's eyes to make them discontented and throw off the yoke of the Muhammedans.[1]

After Sirajuddaulah's accession to the throne of Bengal in April 1756 the British devoted their entire attention to oust him from that august position. The Nawab was wide awake to the manoeuvres and machinations employed by the British to deprive him of all powers. He, therefore, planned and mustered all the forces to drive the British out of his dominions.

The British defied the authority of the Nawab by repairing and strengthening their fortifications especially at Calcutta which they had been forbidden to do during the time of Ali Vardi Khan. Sirajuddaulah took immediate notice of these irregularities, but the British paid no heed to the Nawab's directions. In the meantime a conspiracy against the Nawab was unearthed wherein the British, Nawab Shaukat Jung of Purnea, his aunt Ghasiti Begum and her diwan Rajah Ballabh were involved. Rajah Ballabh sent his son, Krishna Das, along with his family to Calcutta to take shelter with the British.

[1] **Rise of the Christian Power in India, p. 45, (R. Chatterjee, Calcutta, 1931).**

Sirajuddaulah demanded the surrender of Krishna Das, but the British refused and insulted him. Thereupon the Nawab sent his troops to Calcutta on May 24, 1757 and on the way attacked the British factory at Qasim bazar. The chief of the factory, Mr. Watts was unable to resist and surrendered without fighting. Later the fort of Tannah, five miles from Calcutta also fell and was occupied by Sirajuddaulah. In spite of the victory the Nawab wanted to live on terms of peace with the British. His terms and conditions were moderate but the British were determined to cross swords with him.

How correctly Major Basu expresses, "This was a great blow to the prestige of the English; but the humane Sirajuddaulah did not treat them as rebels, which they in reality were, and did not make short work of them by executing them. Had he done so, he would not have been betrayed by those traders whom he dealt with leniently. For they did not possess any sense of gratitude and did not and could not appreciate the kind treatment they had received at Sirajuddaulah's hand". [1]

Sirajuddaulah reached Calcutta on June 16, 1756, and planned to attack on June 18. The British made every arrangement for putting hurdles in the way of the Nawab's troops. They imprisoned Amir Chand, his brother-in-law Hazari Lal and his guest Krishna Das so that they may not give any succour to the Nawab. But in spite of all these precautions the British were completely routed and demoralised by the valour and superior strategy of Sirajuddaulah.

After wresting Calcutta from the hands of the British the Nawab renamed it as Ali Nagar and appointed Rajah Manick as its governor.

After this defeat the British sought help from Madras and asked for reinforcements to recapture Calcutta. The Nawab was completely in the dark about all these movements. Fresh forces under the command of Admiral Watson and Colonel Clive left Madras in October 1756 and reached Bengal in December the same year. Had the Nawab known all these clandestine tactics he would have taken drastic steps to wipe them out of the Bay of Bengal.

[1] Rise of the Christian Power in India, p. 50.

Amidst great rejoicings the Nawab reached the capital and was jubilant to find that the Mughal Emperor by a royal Firman confirmed him as the Nawab of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.

On the other side brisk preparations were afoot to recapture Calcutta. After successfully attacking the fort of Budge-Budge the British concentrated all their forces at Calcutta. Without meeting any opposition they became masters of the situation.

The master-minds of Watts and Robert Clive completely shattered the political edifice of the Nawab and succeeded in forming a clique in the court of Murshidabad led by Mir Ja'afar, Commander-in-Chief, and Rai Durlabh, his treasurer and others including Manick Chand and Raj Ballav (the bankers). After finalising secret pacts with Mir Ja'afar and Amir Chand the hands of the British were strengthened and they were almost assured of success.

Completely ignorant and unaware of the nature and extent of the conspiracy against him, Sirajuddaulah reposed full confidence in the arch-conspirator, Mir Ja'afar, whom the British had made a tool to serve their own purpose. The Nawab went to Mir Ja'afar who swore on the Glorious Quran to be loyal to him.

The traitor Mir Ja'afar secretly invited Robert Clive to march on to Plassey—23 miles south of Murshidabad where Sirajuddaulah was stationed with his 50,000 men. Clive charged the Nawab with not fulfilling the terms of the Treaty, thus making a false pretex for starting the War. A fierce fight ensued on June 23, 1757, but Sirajuddaulah lost the battle. With the victory over Nawab Sirajuddaulah at the Battle of Plassey (1757) due to the treachery of his own officers and the conspiracy between Hindu Seths and Robert Clive the British got full control over the rich province of Bengal—the "Paradise of India".

TIPU SULTAN

Immediately after this, the East India Company inflicted a death-blow on their rival European power, the French, on the Coromandal coast and started a campaign of crushing or subjugating

the various local rulers all over the Sub-continent. The most formidable among these, after the death of Sirajuddaulah, was Haider Ali who by the year 1761 had become practically master of the Mysore State in the South. The British formed a strong coalition with the Nizam and Marathas against Haider Ali and forced him in 1771 to pay the Marathas a large sum of money as well as cede valuable territory to them. This led Haider Ali to wage a bitter war against the British until his death at Arcot on December 6, 1782.

After Haider Ali's death, his son, the indomitable Tipu Sultan, continued the war and carried on a ceaseless campaign against the British for liberation of the country. Fighting single-handed after his father's death, Tipu Sultan captured Bednore and Mangalore, and forced the Madras Goverment to sign the Treaty of Mangalore in 1784 whereby the British recognised the Sultan's right to certain districts claimed by the Nizam.

The British under Lord Cornwallis, however, formed a triple alliance with the Nizam and Marathas against the Sultan, and demanded the cession of half his territory and the payment of two million pounds as an indemnity, but Tipu refused. And thus began the great Tipu's life-long crusade against the British and their allies which ended only with his gallant death on the field of battle at Seringapatam on May 4, 1799. Tipu's death removed the last stronghold of the Muslim might on the Sub-contient. Thus by the advent of the 19th century, the British supremacy on the Sub-continent was firmly established.

The general British feeling towards the Muslims was one of misunderstanding and distrust. Since the Muslims had been the virtual rulers of the Sub-continent, it was felt by the British that the Muslims and not the Hindus must yield power to them. Every action of the Muslims, therefore, was looked upon with an eye of suspicion ; every effort of the Muslims to save themselves from a rapid decline was thus termed by the British as a conspiracy or revolt against them.

Under the circumstances, the fiscal policy of the East India Company, which involved a deliberate extinction of the fine and more skilled arts of the country, particularly affected the Muslims. The only

source of income for the better class of Muslims—posts in army, administration and learned professions—were no longer available to them. In view of the circumstances, it was but natural that the Muslim reaction to the British attitude should be different from that of the Hindus.

ANOTHER PROTOTYPE

The 18th century witnessed the rise of another prototype of the Mujaddid in the person of Shah Waliullah (1704-1763), who revolutionised the life and thought of the nation by his translation of the Quran into Persian and other scholarly books like Hujjatul-lahul Baligha and Ezalatul Khifa. He had a band of scholars who were his own kith and kin viz Shah Abdul Aziz, Shah Rafiuddin and Shah Abdul Qadir. They kindled a new life by the teaching of the Quran, Hadith and other sciences. They did for the Muslims in this Sub-continent what Rousseau and Voltaire had done for the French nation. Shah Waliullah did not associate himself with the degenerate Mughals. He stood by the rising Rohillas who were the personification of fortitude and integrity. He firmly believed in the distinctive Islamic life, laws and jurisprudence and endeavoured to implant on the soil of this Sub-continent the real spirit of scientific inquiry, observation of nature and the understanding of human problems.

Shah Waliullah was an extremely versatile genius, the embodiment of that spirit of revolt which was a natural reaction to the very oppressive and irrational conditions, political, religious, economic and social, which were prevailing in the country. In the range and variety of his interests and the knowledge of humanity, he represented, at its best the spirit of emancipation of human mind from the soul-destroying shackles of irrational ideals and dogmas. He possessed an extraordinary sensitive and critical mind and his prodigious literary productions show a high degree of constructive originality.

Mention should also be made of the grandson of Shah Waliullah, one of the most remarkable fighters of the generation. He sacrificed his life for the cause of Islam—I mean Shah Ismail Shaheed. Fully steeped

in the traditions and scientific knowledge of Islam; he reminded one of the heroes of early Islam. This versatile genius crusaded against all un-Islamic doctrines. He was not only Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn Qayyam of his generation, but he also possessed the sterling qualities of Khalid Ibn Walid and Saad Ibn Waqqas. He rallied under his banner a selfless band of Mujahideen to fight in the way of Allah.

MUJAHIDEEN MOVEMENT

Another most outstanding figure of the 19th century who exercised tremendous influence on the revival of the religious spirit, was Saiyyed Ahmad Brelvi, the Murshid of Shah Ismail Shaheed. He raised the banner of Islam high in the teeth of British and Sikh opposition. "He appealed", says Dr. W.W. Hunter, "with an almost inspired confidence to the religious instinct, long dormant in the souls of his countrymen and overgrown with the superstitious accretions which centuries of contact with Hinduism had almost stifled Islam. He found the true Faith buried beneath the ceremonials of idolatory".[1]

His voice reached the remotest corners of the Sub-continent. Sincerity, co-operation and fear of Allah were the prominent features of his disciples. In every province and district there was a torch-bearer of Islam whose influence sounded the death-knell of all un-Islamic ways and infused a new life among the people. Scholars and even the rich, were drawn to his bosom and stood as soldiers of Islam and marched shoulder to shoulder with the common people for the achievement of independence and a sovereign State. Forty lakhs came to the fold of Islam through his ideal organisation. Dr. Hunter writes, "This bold spirit started forth as a preacher and by boldly attacking the abuses which had crept into the Muslim faith in India, obtained a zealous and turbulent following".

Saiyyed Ahmad correctly felt the pulse of the nation and diagnosed that the Muslims stood in need of political power and Government for keeping the torch of Islam shining. He thinks, "Verily, according to the dictum, Empire and religion are twins" (Almulk-o-waddin-i-toaman).

[1] W.W. Hunter, The Indian Musalmans, p.43 (Comrade Publishers, Calcutta, 1945)

This demand is in conformity with the idea that stability and existence of religion (especially those injunctions that are related to the laws of the Government) are dependent upon the existence of a sovereign State. Absence of an Islamic State puts these things beyond the pale of implementation.

LETTER TO SULAIMAN JAH

In a letter to Nawab Sulaiman Jah, he writes thus :

"Unfortunately since some years the position of the Government and Empire is such that Christians and Hindus have achieved political domination over a major part of India. They have begun oppression and tyranny, traditions of infidelity and polytheism have succeeded and the rites of Islam have lost power. My heart pains to witness such a sight. I felt the idea of migration (Hijrat); the honour of Faith, and a great zest and enthusiasm upsurged my heart".

The Sikhs' oppression on the Muslims of the Punjab led Saiyyed Ahmad to issue a manifesto and summon all the devout Muslims to join the Holy War (Jehad). "The Sikh nation", runs this document, "have long held sway in Lahore and other places. Their oppressions have exceeded all bounds. Thousands of Musalmans they have unjustly killed and on thousands they have heaped disgrace. No longer do they allow the call to prayer from the mosques and the killing of cows they have entirely prohibited".[1]

JEHAD

When at last their insulting tyranny could no more be endured, Hazrat Saiyyed Ahmad, for the protection of the Faith, took with him a few Musalmans, proceeded towards Kabul and Peshawar, succeeded in rousing the Musalmans from their slumber of indifference, and nerving their courage for action. Praise be to God, some thousands of believers became ready at his call to tread the path of God's service; and on December 21, 1826; "Jehad against the infidel Sikhs began".

[1] Swaneh Ahmadi by Maulvi Mohammad Jafar, p. 70 and W.W. Hunter, p. 6.

The same year Saiyyed Ahmad bade goodbye to his native town and proceeded towards the Frontier through the Rajputana desert and reached Sind. He was warmly welcomed by the public. The then ruler, Mir Mohammad and his Ministers, Mir Karam Ali and Murad Ali, welcomed him in the fort. He stayed there for a week and a large number of people became his disciples. A new life pulsated among them. From there he advanced to Shikarpur, conferring with Sindhi divines and Sheikhs. At Pircoat, the famous divine and leader of Hurs, Pir Saiyyed Sibghatullah Shah, showed great hospitality and offered him his valuable library. Through the Bolan Pass and Pishin he reached Qandhar, where a royal reception was given to him. He met the ruler of Qandhar who received him with great honour. During his four days' stay, thousands enrolled themselves for Jehad. But the State stopped them. In spite of it 400 Ulema and scholars followed him. He only selected 270 men and allowed the rest to go.

PANJTAR SUPPORT

He then advanced to Ghazni where Mir Mohammad Khan, the ruler, welcomed him and offered baiyat to him. The King of Kabul, Sardar Sultan Mohammad Khan, also invited him and gave him a right royal reception. The King came in person with his three brothers and 50 horsemen. Minister Fateh Khan made arrangements for his stay. He remained there for six weeks to settle the chaotic state of affairs, but no *via media* could be found. Hence, he left for Peshawar. The Yusufzais and Barakzais became his staunchest followers.

Dr. Hunter says, "He travelled through Qandhar and Kabul raising the country as he went, and consolidating his influence by a skilful coalition of the tribes. The chief of Panjtar (Fateh Khan) afterwards joined him. So did the important principality of Swat".[1]

SIKH POLICY

Saiyyed Ahmad challenged the Lahore Government to revise their aggressive policy. The Government in reply to this despatched

[1] W.W. Hunter, The Indian Musalmans, p. 6.

Sardar Budh Singh with a strong force of 10,000 men. They camped near Akora, seven miles from Nowshera.

Preparation for holy war was in full swing. On the right wing were Saiyyed Ahmad and Mohammad Yusuf, the left wing was under Saiyed Mohammad Yaqub, the rearguard was under Allah Bakhsh. The Muslims attacked in the night and overpowered the enemies. Sardar Budh Singh fled away. Seven hundered of his men were killed and about an equal number injured. On the Muslim side the loss was only 37.

ACKNOWLEDGED IMAM

In 1827, Saiyyed Ahmad Brelvi was elected Imam by the common suffrage. Khadi Khan, Ashraf Khan, Sardar Yar Mohammad Khan, Sultan Mohammad Khan, Khan Sa'adat Ali Khan and Bahram Khan acknowledged him their Imam. Khutba was read in his name. Dr. Hunter writes in an imperialistic strain, "So firmly did he at length believe in his title (Imam) that at the peril of his life he assumed all the functions of sovereignty, levied tithes (Jizya), appointed Caliphs to continue the apostolic succession and formally proclaimed himself at Peshawar the Commander of the Faithful." [1]

The covenant for Jehad was signed by 25,000 Ulema and Sheikhs at Panjtar. Fateh Khan, the ruler of Panjtar, too, agreed to offer his services and put his signature over it. After this the laws of Shariah were promulgated and all had to abide by them.

PLANNED CONSPIRACY

A huge force of one lakh men rallied in the field of Saidu Sharif where the leaders of Peshawar and Summah also joined under the command of Saiyyed Ahmad. One night, through the help of his food attendants Nazar Khan and Wali Mohammad, poisoned food was given to him, but he recovered from its effect.

The Muslims fought zealously. Success seemed to be near when suddenly two horsemen crept into the Sikh camp and divulged the secrets of the Muslims' plan of war. The Barakzais deserted the

[1] W.W. Hunter, p. 45.

Muslims' camp and left them in a precarious position. Now the whole responsibility lay on the shoulders of the Muhajirs who put their whole strength against the enemy. Saiyyed Ahmad ordered all Mujahideen to rally under the banner. Nazar Khan and Wali Mohammad were arrested and were about to be executed but Saiyyed Ahmad pardoned them.

The war front had now to be strengthened against the Sikhs and the traitors of Peshawar. Fateh Khan and Ashraf Khan treated the Muhajirin like the Ansars; and Bannu and Swat promised to follow them. Meanwhile, Maulana Abdul Hai with his comrades came to their succour.

WAR AT UTMANZAI

The highlanders of Peshawar became open enemies of Saiyyed Ahmad. They were backed by the Sikhs and received monetary and other kinds of help from them. Yar Mohammad Khan, with a contingent of 4,000 Durranis, rallied at Utmanzai, beyond the Indus to fight against the Mujahideen. As a result of the courageous strategy of Ismail Shaheed the enemy artillery was captured and they fled away. The next day an intense battle ensued. The enemy lost heavily and the Muslims won. In this war, Raja Ram, a Hindu Rajput, joined the Muslim army and fought against the Durranis. During this time letters and presents were sent to the Amir of Bokhara under the leadership of Mian Nizamuddin Chishti.

GEN. VENTURA'S ATTACK

Sardar Khadi Khan offered General Ventura rich presents and his help was solicited to fight the Khans of Summa. The General responded to his call and marched with 10,000 or 15,000 men and artillery against Saiyyed Ahmad's army. The Mujahideen were only 900. Saiyyed Ahmad raised a high wall between the two hills and made preparations.

Like Tariq and Babar, Saiyyed Ahmad delivered an inspiring speech which moved the Muslims to sacrifice all. He cited the passages of the Quran which infused a new life in them. When Gen. Ventura's

army reached the Panjtar hills, he made a survey with his telescope and found that the Muslims had a huge army. He told Khadi Khan, "You have deceived me, the whole of Panjtar is full of cavalry, infantry and banners". But reluctantly he descended the hills and moved to demolish the walls. Mirza Ahmad Beg, who was guarding the wall, apprised the Muslims of this danger. Saiyyed Ahmad advanced with his cavarly. The enemies were shot at and killed. Gen. Ventura withdrew his forces. His army was pursued and driven back to Lahore.

The subjugation of renegades was necessary. Therefore, Maulvi Ismail Shaheed with a handful of men captured the fort of Hund in 1830 and killed Khadi Khan. His brother, Amir Khan, sought help from Yar Mohammad Khan, but he too was killed at Zaida in the same year. Now only one enemy was left. He was Sultan Mohammad Khan who implored succour from Ranjit Singh by offering his finest horse "Laila". Sultan Khan invaded the Hund fort and besieged it for a week. There were only 50 or 60 Mujahideen. The besieged were allowed to go out after laying down arms. The Muslims came out after this agreement, but Sultan Mohammad Khan arrested them and imprisoned them in a house at Hashtnagar. They all eventually escaped and joined their men.

CHANGE OF FRONT

Disappointed with these treacheries, Saiyyed Ahmad moved to change his centre from the Frontier to Kashmir. He sent Maulvi Ismail Shaheed with this purpose. The ruler of Amb and Ashra, Payendi Khan, opposed this. The fort of Amb was conquered and Shariah laws were enforced in the land.

Meanwhile, Ranjit Singh sent an Ambassador, Sardar Wazir Singh and Hakim Abdul Aziz to Amb and delivered Saiyyed Sahib this message, "Beyond the river Indus lies your territory where laws of Shariah may be enforced. But no attempt should be made to regain this territory. You are a Fakir and I am an Amir. It is the duty of the Amir to serve the Fakir and the duty of the Fakir is to pray for the Amir".

The Ambassador Sardar Wazir Singh influenced by Saiyyed Ahmad's noble character and divine personality embraced Islam. But

Saiyyed Sahib told him to keep the change of his religion secret and help the Muslims. Raja Sher Singh and Gen. Ventura with 12,000 forces remained on the bank of the Indus to watch the progress.

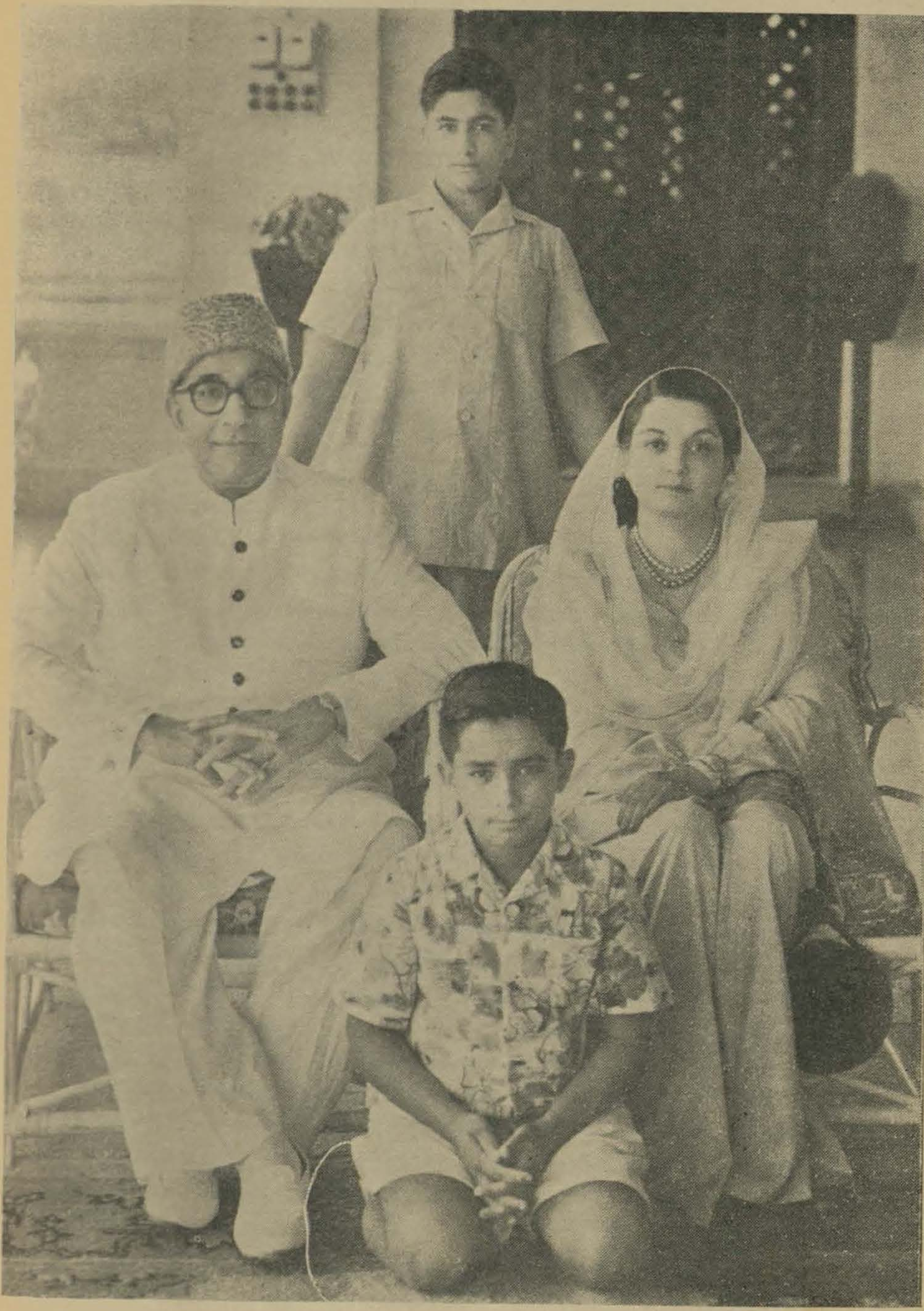
Saiyyed Ahmad sent Maulvi Khairuddin Sherkoti and Haji Bahadur Shah and others as emissaries to Lahore. First they met Gen. Ventura and Raja Sher Singh and had a frank discussion with them. The General wanted Saiyyed Sahib to present a horse and accept Ranjit Singh's suzerainty. But Maulvi Khairuddin gave a threatening reply. Gen. Ventura resolved to invade Panjtar. But this plan was revealed by Sardar Wazir Singh. The Ventura army passed the whole night in great perturbation. In the morning all crossed the Indus and fled away. The Durranis made a last attempt to regain power. Twelve thousand strong mustered against 3,500 Mujahideen, but were badly defeated.

PESHAWAR CONQUERED (1829)

Peshawar was conquered and purged of corruption. The laws of Shariah were restored, widow remarriage was introduced. Sultan Mohammad Khan sent Faizullah Khan Mahmood to act as intermediary. Saiyyed Ahmad admonished and pardoned Sultan Mahmood and emphasised upon him the importance of the Shariah. Maulana Saiyyed Mazhar Ali Azimabadi was appointed Qazi and returned to Panjtar.

For some months the civil and judicial administration of Peshawar was carried on according to the laws of the Shariah. In their enforcement strictness was observed, which irked the diehard local people, who were reluctant to give up their age-old un-Islamic customs and traditions and gave the hirelings of the Sikhs and Britishers a chance to spread discontent among the Maliks. Sultan Mohammad Khan treacherously killed Maulana Mazhar Ali Azimabadi and Faizullah Khan, whose intervention had given him the Governorship of Peshawar. After this all the officials of Ashr were put to death one after the other—some while saying prayers.

The centre of the front was now shifted from Peshawar to Sachun. Saiyyed Ahmad's army retired to Balakot in 1831. The Sikhs pillaged and devastated the whole Peshawar and annexed it. Raja



Quaid-i-Millat Liaquat Ali Khan with his Begum and sons, Ashraf and Akbar.

Sher Singh concentrated all his army and artillery in Balakot and encamped at a distance of four miles from a hill. There were two ways leading to it. Saiyyed Ahmad had well-guarded them against the enemy. Prince Sher Singh, finding the hill inaccessible for his army was about to retreat but treachery again came to the help. One of the guards secretly revealed the way leading to the hill and guided him to Balakot (in Abbottabad district). Next day the Raja blocked the way and took the Mujahideen unawares. There was now no alternative but to resist. Saiyyed Ahmad, Shah Ismail and a host of others one by one sacrificed their lives in May 1831, at the altar of freedom.[1]

The scene is beyond the power of pen to describe. It was another tragedy of Karbala. The land of Pakistan was dawning on the horizon. But it vanished. Balakot (where the gems of purest ray serene were buried) was the place where history was to be remade and the Muslim hegemony restored. But the hand of treachery, avarice and selfishness barred the achievement of the cherished goal. Dr. Hunter rightly thinks "This vast power, which had so miraculously sprung up, as miraculously vanished like a shifting sand mountain of the desert".

FARAIZI MOVEMENT

After the Mujahideen Movement a new sign of awakening and determination arose among the Muslims to reassert their position and regain their rights in the shape of Faraizi Movement. The most prominent literary apostles of this movement were Maulvi Karamat Ali of Jaunpur (d. 1873), Maulvi Wilayat Ali and his younger brother Enayat Ali of Patna, disciples of Syed Ahmed Shaheed Brelvi, who through their well-organised and well-planned efforts extending over half a century revitalised Islamic life in the eastern part of this Sub-continent. Karamat Ali's work has been thus described : "For forty years he moved up and down the elaborate river system of eastern Bengal in a flotilla of small boats, carrying the message of Islamic regeneration and reform from the Nagas of Assam to the inhabitants of Sandip and other islands in the Bay of Bengal. His flotilla of country

[1] Musalmanon-ka-Roshan Mustaqbil by Maulvi Tufail Ahmad, p. 98 (Badayun, 1938).

craft was like a travelling college. One boat was the residence of his family, another was reserved for the students and disciples accompanying him, while the third was for *dars* and lectures and prayers". [1]

The far-reaching effect of the preaching of these selfless reformers produced a stir in the life of the Muslims and there arose a great leader, Haji Shariatullah, who accelerated the pace of Faraizi movement in East Bengal. He was a profound scholar of Islamic lore and had studied at Mecca and Cairo. His contact with Maulvi Basharat Ali of Calcutta helped him to pursue the study of Islamic theology and allied sciences. Haji Shariatullah remained in Muslim countries for about 20 years and returned home in 1822 or 1828.

With the fall of Sirajuddaulah in 1757 the Muslims lost their political ascendancy and economic prosperity and were removed from positions of trust and responsibility. They were also deprived of their lands which brought suffering and misery.

Haji Shariatullah studied the whole situation and set on the task of reforming the Muslim society especially among the farmers and artisans. He made best efforts to rid them of the customs and practices that had no sanction in Islam and advised them to follow their faith called Faraiz (Commandments of Allah *i.e.* Awamir). [2] He also was not in favour of the terms "Pir" and "Murshid" and introduced the title of "Ustad" and "Shagird" (teacher and pupil). His movement was mainly concerned with the religious and social reforms among the Muslims. He won a large number of followers who carried out his exhortations. His blameless and exemplary life was admired by his countrymen, who venerated him as a father able to advise them in seasons of adversity and give consolation in times of affliction. [3]

When Haji Shariatullah died in 1840 he was succeeded by his son, Mohammad Mohsin, better known as Dudu Mian. He was a man of great enterprise and was endowed with indomitable courage. Under

[1] S. M. Ikram, Cultural Heritage of Pakistan, p. 15 (1955).
[2] History of Freedom Movement by Abdul Bari, p. 546.
[3] Eastern Bengal by James Wise, p. 23 (London, 1884).

his dynamic leadership the Faraizi movement gained a great momentum with emphasis on economic and political problems faced by the farmers and the artisans of Bengal. He appointed his deputies in respective areas to help the poor and raise funds for them.

The new revenue policy of the British Government as expressed in Warren Hasting's lease-farming revenues and Cornawallis' Permanent Settlement affected the entire fabric of Bengal society. It replaced the old landed gentry by the new class of Zamindars who were mostly businessman and adventurers. This change in the agrarian policy of Bengal had a bad repercussion on the zamindar-farmer relationship. The Hindu landlords levied on the Muslims a number of illegal taxes. With full backing and support of the British rulers the landlords forced the Muslim ryot (tenant) to contribute towards the decoration of the images of the Hindu goddesses and also towards celebration of other idolatrous rites. Dudu Mian advised the farmers to settle on lands managed directly by the Government, so that they may have to pay only the Government taxes.

The Faraizi movement caused a great consternation among the landlords and the indigo planters, who wanted to counteract this reform movement. The indigo planting being a profitable business attracted a number of European capitalists and developed a lucrative business, but they subjected the farmers to torture and punishment. This led to a clash between Dudu Mian and the landlords and indigo planters. In 1841-42 he led two campaigns against the landlords known as Sikdars and Ghoshes with the intention of forcing them to compromise with the farmers on reasonable terms. With his success in the campaigns the Faraizi movement gained a great strength and his prestige rose very high among the farmers.

The landlords and the indigo planters alarmed at the success and considerable influence of Dudu Mian resorted to conspiracies and convinced the British of his anti-State activities. He was, therefore, detained by the Government as a State prisoner without trial in 1857. In 1859 he was released but again rearrested and confined to jail. After his release in 1860 he migrated to Dacca and died in 1862.

After Dudu Mian the work of the Faraizi movement was carried on by Abdul Ghafur alias Naya Mian and Khan Bahadur Saiduddin Ahmad. They made indefatigable efforts to maintain the momentum of the movement, but as they did not possess resourcefulness, creative mind and dynamic personality of the old leaders, the movement lost its vigour and zeal. But, however, the Faraizi movement served some purpose and created among the Muslims of Bengal a spirit of self-consciousness, honesty, faith, courage and determination to face difficulties and meet the challenge.

THE WAR OF INDEPENDECE OF 1857

The struggle for freedom in the year 1857 is perhaps a most significant event in the history of the Sub-continent during the 19th century to regain power. Miscalled by foreign historians as the "Sepoy Mutiny", it has since been established as the first national struggle for independence, which, though beginning with disaffection in the armed forces, gave an outlet to the long pent-up feelings of the entire Muslim nation in the Sub-continent. For, it was they who had lost most of all under the East India Company's rule. The attitude of the British towards the Muslims was born chiefly of suspicion and distrust. Persian was replaced by English as the official language of the country and the Christian missionaries stepped up their activities with the blessings and even with the funds of the State. As against the Muslims, the Hindus were in a far better position. They received preference and even patronage of the British and were soon adjusting themselves under their new rulers.

Apart from these, the events that directly preceded and, in fact, gave birth to the struggle were the economic depression prevailing in the country, aggravated by confiscation of free-holds, wholesale auctioning of large Zamindaris and estates and the practice of an unrealistic revenue system. The Government officials had become extremely autocratic, with the result that they could not be approached by the public for redress due to fear and mistrust. Thus, the Government of East India Company remained most ill-informed about the abject

conditions then prevailing in the Sub-continent and, unlike the Mughal Emperors, took no interest in the well-being of the people, placing themselves above the local inhabitants of the country.

Thus it was that suffering, discontent, economic depression and increasing fear of encroachment upon religious, social and political freedom, all combined to produce the first national struggle for independence in the year 1857.

Though the clouds of "portentous forebodings" had been hovering on the horizon for quite sometime, the British chose to wait and watch. This, either because they thought the matter too trifling for a second thought, or because, even if they would, they could do but little. Almost the entire Army was locally raised, and if the latter chose to mutiny, there was nothing to stop them.

The immediate cause of the outbreak was the refusal by local troops first at Meerut, then elsewhere, to use cartridges the grease of which hurt their religious susceptibilities. This was on May 10, 1857. The parade was dismissed and the 85 troopers were arrested, brought to speedy court-martial and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. This led to open insurrection.

The revolt spread to Delhi. On the morning of May 12, 1857, the troops reported to Emperor Bahadur Shah and pledged obedience. The pattern of a new regime rapidly took shape. Mirza Zahooruddin was appointed Commander-in-Chief with other princes as Colonels of the regiments. On May 19, Maulvi Mohammad Sayeed raised the standard of Jehad in the Jami Masjid at Delhi.

The British thought that the immediate step towards the suppression of the "revolt" should be the recapture of the Imperial Capital, and the whole of the following month they began accumulating forces on the outskirts of the city, while those of the Emperor were collecting inside.

General Mohammad Bakht Khan, Commander of the Bareilly forces came to Delhi and offered the Emperor his services and those of his force, along with a large amount of cash.

Fighting and resistence was not easy for the patriots. Apart from the money brought by General Bakht Khan, the Emperor drew on his Treasury and had also to take loans from bankers and merchants of Delhi. The protracted war created the problem of supplies. As the British troops advanced, the supplies became short, and were finally completely cut off, creating famine conditions within the capital. Meanwhile, the British tried to reclaim the Sikhs, who had offered to join the Imperial forces, by exploiting their communal animosity against the Muslims. They tried to create internal dissensions within the court by winning over prominent nobles and also set up a ring of spies who passed over to the British intimate information about the projected plans of the Emperor's patriotic supporters.

On August 6, the Bareilly and Neemuch forces made a joint attack on the British concentrations at Alipur and at the Mithai Bridge and forced them to retreat. But a few days later Col. Nicholson brought a 25,000-man strong reinforcement from the Punjab, and frantic preparations for a decisive battle started. Within the city Hakim Ahsanullah Khan an intimate courtier of the Emperor, was brought over by the British and engineered a gun-powder explosion, killing 494 persons in the Imperial magazine in the city. [1]

On September 4, the British forces received their siege guns and on the 14th the massive Kashmiri Gate was shattered to pieces with a tremendous explosion. Diseased, famished and outnumbered, the national army fought with great courage. Bullets, stones, brickbats, shafts, logs and whatever they could lay their hands on, they hurled at the advancing hordes. Familiar landmarks of Delhi, the Kashmiri Gate, the Magazine, the water Bastion and the Jami Masjid were all scenes of intense fighting.

The besieged forces held on for six long days, fighting with great courage, and then they could hold out on longer. A battery of 24 pounders and mortars forced its way to the main entrance of the Red Fort—where lived Bahadur Shah, the last of the Mughal Emperors. The

[1] **Memoirs of Hakim Ahsanullah, p. 22 (Karachi 1958)**

main gate was blown open. But 30 Mughal warriors barred the way, swords in hand. The British columns could enter over their dead bodies only to find Bahadur Shah missing. He and the royal princes had trekked down to the tomb of Humayun, six miles away from the city.

What followed was a savage reign of terror. Plunder and massacre was the order of the day. "The troops", wrote Saunders, the Commissioner of Delhi, "were completely disorganised and demoralised by the immense amount of plunder which fell into their hands"......... "Every native that could be found", his wife says "was killed by the soldiers".

Emperor Bahadur Shah was tried by a military commission constituted under instructions from Sir John Lawrence, on four main charges, the most important being that he, being a subject of the British Government, proclaimed himself sovereign of India and waged war against the Government. The defence was 'too cowed to put forward the juristic argument of still subsisting Imperial Mughal rights', because it was really the East India Company which had rebelled against the Emperor. The East India Company had concluded no formal treaty with the Emperor after the one of 1765 in which the Imperial supremacy was clearly acknowledged by the British. But at this stage the Emperor had only the legal right and not the power ; the *de facto* power had by this time gone into the hands of the Company and the struggle for independence was described as a "mutiny".

After a long trial, lasting from January 27 to March 9, 1858, the last of the Great Mughals was deported as an exile to Rangoon along with Queen Zinat Mahal Begum, her son Mirza Jawan Bakht and others. [1]

THE RENAISSANCE

In was in the 19th century that, like Jamaluddin Afghani (1838-1897) whose writings and dynamic personality exercised a far-reaching influence on nascent Muslim nationlism all over the world and who made a fervent appeal for a vigorous reinterpretation of Islam to rid it of the wild undergrowth which had sapped its vitality, and to revive its

[1] The Struggle for Independence, pp. 25-29 (Pakistan Publications, Karachi, 1958)

broad healthy principles of democratic progress, there arose a great pioneer and foreunner of the reform movement among the Muslims of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent, who really caught the vision of the possibility of a union of two cultures. He was the first man to realise that light could enter a room from the eastern window and the western door. In the teeth of opposition and adverse criticisms he boldly stepped out upon this intellectual and cultural platform. He was the father of a great educational movement and his unceasing efforts prepared the ground for a broader intellectual outlook. It was he who laid the foundation of the Aligarh Muslim University in 1875, where hundreds and thousands of Muslims have slaked their thirst. And our modern Muslim educational development can be traced to the attitude of mind assumed by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan (1817-1898) and his comrades.

Maulana Mohammad Ali in his address to the Proposed Mohammedan University beautifully epitomises the philosophy behind the project. "Those who knew Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, and even those who have made a careful study of his life by Hali, realise clearly that he was not a man with only one idea. There was no branch of affairs of men, be it religion, politics, education, or literature, in which he did not take a deep and active interest. After a careful study of men and things and books, after a long and evenful life which bridged the gulf between two orders of things, the *old* and the *new*, after many practical experiments with a view to diagnose the disease of his countrymen and especially of his co-religionists, and provide for a suitable remedy, he resolved upon creating in India a university, not of existing type of Indian universities, but like the typical English institutions of Oxford and Cambridge, where he found during his visit to Europe, the future statesmen, generals, and poets of England, unconsciously shaping their own destinies, and perhaps the destinies of more than one country, in the lecture rooms of Balliol, and chapel of King's, on Fenner's cricket ground, and the shady backwaters of Cherwell". [1]

[1] Proposed Mohammedan University, An Address delivered by Mohammad Ali (Oxon). Bombay, October 16, 1904, p. 6.

There is no denying the fact that the War of Independence of 1857 deprived the Muslims of their position, honour and prestige for the British considered them as the potential danger to their rule. They were looked with great suspicion and distrust and were victimised and punished on baseless excuses. The doors of their future employment in the Government offices and the Army were closed and they were forced to humiliation, degradation and repressive treatment. The whole position of the Muslims was in the melting pot, but fortunately Sir Syed Ahmad Khan correctly diagnosed and felt the pulse of the nation and found a panacea for all their ills. With great determination and self-confidence he took the first step to bring a political rapprochement between the ruler and the ruled, between the British and the Muslims.

To clarify the Muslims' position in relation to 1857 War of Independence he brought out a pamphlet "Asbab-i-Baghwat-i-Hind (Essay on the causes of the Indian Revolt) wherein he described ignorance of the Indians as the most important cause of the "Mutiny" and criticised the British for giving no represention to the Indians in the Imperial Legislative Council. Significantly, the first Indian Council Act of 1861, when Indians were for the first time included into the Viceroy's Legislative Council, came two years after the partial publication of the Risal-i-Baghwat-i-Hind. In his other publication, "Loyal Mohammedans of India", he defended the Indian Muslims against the charge of sedition and disloyalty. After retirement from service he became a member of the Governor-General's Legislative Council from 1878 to 1883.[1]

To revive knowledge and modern education Sir Syed Ahmad Khan founded a Scientific Society with the main purpose of translating standard English works into Urdu for disseminating modern knowledge and scientific advancement. He also started "Tahzibul Akhlaq" in 1870 on the lines of the 18th century magazines, "The Spectator" and "The Tatler" to enlighten the Muslims to accept what was sound and attractive in Western manners and social life, and inculcate in them simplicity, honesty and virtues. He gathered a band of writers and thinkers like

[1] Graham, G.F.I., The Life and Work of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, (London, 1885 and 1909).

Hali, Shibli, Nazir Ahmad, Mohsinul Mulk and Viqarul Mulk who inspired the Muslims and awakened them to revive their lost glory and look to the future with renewed hope.

Hector Bolitho has rightly paid a beautiful tribute to Sir Syed : "The tragic circumstance of the Muslims at last bred the leader they needed. His name was Syed Ahmad Khan,—the first Muslim in India who dared to speak of "Partition"; the first to realise that, mutual absorption being impossible, the Hindus and the Muslim must part. He was the father of all that was to happen, ultimately, in Mohammad Ali Jinnah's mind". [1]

HINDU EXTREMISM

During the early 20th century the Congress Party was already proving itself incapable of representing India's Muslims, and dealing justly with the needs and aspirations of the Muslim community. The pressure of Hindu extremism was very strong. The wall of artificial unity was cracking. The gulf was visible because of Hindu intransigence and lack of perception of basic Muslim ideals and hopes. The Congress leaders persisted in ignoring the realities of the communal situation.

Conditions went on deteriorating and the spirit of give-and-take was fast disappearing. By 1906 the Muslim leaders came to the conclusion that their only hope lay in the establishment of a separate Muslim organisation and the securing of independent political recognition from the British Government, as a nation within a nation.

It was a happy augury that there was an electoral change in England which has had its effect on India. The Government began to realise that there was something called a Muslim problem in India and "that they could no longer dismiss it as idle fabrication". Since 1857 the Muslims were ignored by the British as they had great religious, cultural and linguistic affinity with the ousted rulers. They were denied the high positions in the administration and politics. A sense of isolation and powerlessness enveloped the Muslims.

[1] Jinnah, by Hector Bolitho, p. 38 (London, 1960).

THE SIMLA DEPUTATION (1906)

The Simla Deputation is of far-reaching significance as the Viceroy Lord Minto by accepting the demand of the Muslims for the separate electorate laid the foundation of the two-nation theory and the historic Lahore Resolution of March 23, 1940, was its logical conclusion.

The Deputation which waited upon the Viceroy was composed of 35 Muslim leaders drawn from every province of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent and was fairly representative of Muslims. Their names are; from Punjab, Malik Omar Hayat Khan, Mian Mohammad Shafi and Sheikh Ghulam Sadik; from Patiala State, Col. Abdul Majid Khan, foreign Minister; from Bengal, K.B. Syed Nawab Ali Chowdhry, Syed Amir Husain Khan, Abdul Rahim and K.B. Mirza Shujaat Ali Beg; from Bihar, Syed Ali Imam and Nawab Sarfraz Husain Khan; from U.P. Munshi Ehtisham Ali of Kakori, Syed Nabiullah, Syed Abdul Raoof, K.B. Muzimmullah Khan, Sahabzada Aftab Ahmad Khan and Nawab Mohsinul Mulk; from Bombay, Maulvi Rafiuddin Ahmad and E.A. Peerbhoy; from Sind, Syed Allahdad Shah of Khairpur Mirs; from Madras, K.B. Ahmad Mohiuddin Khan; from C.P. Maulana H.M. Malak, Head of Mehdi Bohras; from Hyderabad (Deccan), Nawab Syed Sirdar Ali Khan and Hakim Ajmal Khan of Delhi. From North Western Frontier Province, K.B. Raja Jahandad of Hazara and Nawab Salimullah of Dacca could not go to Simla due to illness. [1]

The Aga Khan III rightly writes in his Memoirs, "But at long last we were going to be heard. The Viceroy, Lord Minto, had agreed to receive a deputation from us and I was to lead that deputation. Now in 1906 (October 1) we boldly asked the Viceroy to look facts in the face; we asked that the Muslims of India should not be regarded as a mere minority, but as a nation within a nation whose rights and obligations should be guaranteed by statute. History has amply demonstrated since then, after the First World War and again and again later, that the existence of minorities—of one nationally conscious community within another numerically weaker perhaps but not less firmly aware of

[1] The "Daily Telegraph", Lucknow, October 3, 1906.

itself as a nation than the majority—is one of the major issues of our time. Ireland, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia—the world's maps are plentifully dotted with these minority problems, with all their complexity and difficulty".

SEPARATE REPRESENTATION

"For ourselves in 1906 we asked for the establishment of a principle, a principle which would have to be embodied in any legislation as a consequence of these proposals for reform. We asked for adequate and separate representation for Muslims both on local bodies and on the legislative councils; we asked that this representation be secured by a separate communal franchise and electoral roll. In short, we Muslims should have the right of electing our own representatives on it. We conceded that in areas where we were in the majority, like the Punjab and what was then the province of Eastern Bengal, we would give a certain number of extra seats to the Hindus, in order to safeguard their interests, and in return we asked that in areas in which there was a big Hindu majority we likewise should be conceded a certain number of extra seats.

"Lord Minto listened with sympathy to our statement of our case. He assured us that the political rights and interests of the Muslim community would be safeguarded in any change in administration that might occur. Our principle was accepted. Most of our demands in detail were conceded though not all". [1]

VICEROY'S REPLY

At the close of a long reply, the Viceroy said: "I am entirely in accord with you......I can only say to you that the Muslim community may rest assured that their political rights and interests as a community will be safeguarded in any administrative re-organisation with which I am concerned, and that you and the people of India may rely upon the British Raj to respect, as it has been its pride to do, the religious beliefs and the national traditions of the myriads composing the population of His Majesty's Indian Empire".

[1] The Memoirs of Aga Khan, pp. 93-94, (Cassell and Company, London, 1954)

MUSLIM LEAGUE FOUNDED

Since the Muslims obtained separate electoral recognition, they must have their own political organisation to protect their interests and speak for the community on all important occasions. Therefore, with the efforts of Nawab Mohsinul Mulk, Maharajah of Mahmudabad, Nawab Saleemullah, Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk, Ali Imam, Mian Mohammad Shafi, Maulana Mohammad Ali and the Aga Khan III, on December 30, 1906, the All-India Muslim League was founded at Dacca and for six years the Aga Khan remained its President. It was an organisation for the protection and advancement of political rights of the Muslims, their culture and religion; and respectfully representing their needs and aspirations to the Government.

Its main objectives were (a) "to promote among the Musalmans of India feelings of loyalty to the British Government and to remove any misconceptions that may arise as to the intentions of Government with regard to any of its measures; (b) to protect and advance the political rights and interests of Musalmans of India and respectfully to represent their needs and aspirations to Government; (c) to prevent the rise among Musalmans of India of any feelings of hostility towards other communities without prejudice to other objects of the League". [1]

MORLEY - MINTO REFORMS

During the later half of 1906 Lord Morley began to think seriously of introducing some constitutional changes and reforms. In consultation with the Viceroy, Lord Minto, a Committee was appointed to go into details and prepare a despatch. This was ready in early 1907 and formed the basis of reforms which were enacted into law by the Indian Councils Act of 1909.

With the enactment of 1909 Reforms the principle of separate electorates for the Muslims of Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent was accepted. Prominent among those who supported the motion were Sir Charles Bruce, A. H. L. Moore and Sir J.W. Holderness. In support of separate

1 The Evolution of India and Pakistan, 1858-1947 by C. H. Philips, (London, 1962).

electorates Lord Morley, the then Secretary of State for India, spoke thus, "They (Muslims) demand the election of their own representatives to these Councils in all the stages, just as in Cyprus, where, I think, the Muslims vote by themselves. They have nine votes and the non-Muslims have three or the other way about.

"So in Bohemia, where the Germans vote alone and have their own register. Therefore, we are not without precedent and a parallel for the idea of a separate register". [1]

With the introduction of this Reform, Provincial Councils were enlarged upto a maximum of 50 members in the bigger provinces and 30 in the smaller. The method of election was partly direct and partly indirect. Small non-official majorities were provided in the Provincial Councils but an official majority was retained at the Centre. Besides the Viceroy and his Executive Council, nearly 60 members were added to the Central Legislative Council. Members could raise questions relating to administration and policy, but the Government had the majority in the House. [2]

Syed Amir Ali (1849-1928), an erudite scholar and author of the "Spirit of Islam" and "A Short History of Saracens", also played a significant role in carrying on a campaign for the acceptance of the Muslims' demand. He led a delegation to Lord Morley in London, on October 27, 1908, and pleaded that "the Muslim population numbering 53 million can hardly be dealt as a minority or have their status regarded as analogous to that of the minor communities of India. Though living inter mixed with the non-Muslims they form a distinct nationality divided by race, religion......". [3]

The Congress and the Hindu politicians condemned the separate electorates principle and vehemently demanded its removal. The only occasion when they acquiesced in for a short time was the Lucknow Pact of 1916 where Quaid-i-Azam played a historic role.

1 Lord Minto and the Indian Nationalist Movement, 1905 to 1910, by Syed Razi Wasti, p. 178, (Oxford, 1964).

2 The Struggle for Pakistan by Dr. I. H. Qureshi, p. 33 (University of Karachi, 1965).

3 Islamic Culture, Hyderabad (Deccan) Vol. VI, No. 3, p. 342, 1932.

Gandhi reacted to this and remarked, "The Minto-Morley Reforms had been our undoing. Had it not been for separate electorates then established, we should have settled our differences by now". [1]

THE AWAKENING

In 1911 there was a turning point in the history of the Muslims in the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent. The partition of Bengal in 1905 and its annulment in 1911 was the first political shock of the century when, in spite of firm promises and undertakings King George V in person announced this at his Coronation Durbar held at Delhi on December 12, 1911. [2] The international situation of the Muslim world also looked bleak with the Italian invasion of Tripolitania which was a Turkish Province. The Balkan War (1912-13) followed soon after that. The dismemberment of European Turkey shocked Muslims of the Sub-continent deeply, and the tragic happenings in Morocco and Tripoli profoundly affected them. These events roused the Muslims from their slumber and dream. People like Shibli Nomani, Shaikhul Hind Mahmud ul Hasan, Obaidullah Sindhi, Mohammad Ali, Shaukat Ali, Abul Kalam Azad, Hasrat Mohani, Syed Sulaiman Nadvi, Kamaluddin Ahmad Jafri, Abdul Bari Farangi Mahli, Zafar Ali Khan, Azad Subhani and others came in the field.

With the war clouds hovering on the horizon of the Muslim world Maulana Mohammad Ali brought out the English weekly, "Comrade". "The Comrade"—comrade of all and partisan of none —was to be the organ that was to voice views on the evolution of the future policy of India as a 'Federation of Faiths' and prepare the Musalmans to make their proper contribution in territorial patriotism without abating a jot of the fervour of their extra-territorial sympathies which is the quintessence of Islam." [3] Later on he started the Urdu daily "Hamdard" to enlighten the Muslim masses. We cannot leave unmentioned Abul Kalam Azad's "Al-Hilal" and "Al-Balagh" that made

1 Constitutional History of India by V. D. Mahajan and Sethi, p. 65 (Delhi, 1960).

2 King George V. His Life and Reign, Harold Nicolson, p. 168 (Constable, 1952.)

3 Selections from Comrade edited by Rais Ahmed Jafri, p. 39, (Mohammad Ali Academy, Lahore, 1965).

significant contribution in awakening the Muslim nation and creating in them a spirit of self-consciousness and self-confidence. Mohammad Ali's and Abul Kalam's papers reawakened the interests of the Muslims and animated a sense of responsibility and freedom among the rising generation. They educated the public by supplying events of world affairs. They guided the Muslims and stirred their feelings to bold action. Thus a new light was thrown in the dark sea of Muslim politics.

The national and international events completely betrayed the Muslims of India who now set on to reorientate the Muslim League's policy. On Jinnah's advice the League changed its policy and adopted as its goal the achievement of self-government by constitutional means. This meant that on the question of ultimate self-government the Congress and Muslim League policy became identical. From 1915 to 1920, the Congress and League sessions were held at the same places and at approximately the same time.

LUCKNOW PACT

In the midst of these events came the declaration of war against Germany. The two great representative organisations of the country the Congress and the Muslim League, were both demanding radical changes in the working of the Indian Government, and evinced a keen desire to be associated with the administration of the country. When the Muslim League held its next session at Bombay in 1915, it had also on its platform the President of the Congress; and a new spirit of co-operation was in evidence. This era is an exceptional one in the political history of the British Indian Empire. For the first time the Muslim League took up a challenging attitude and instead of passing resolutions of loyalty to the British Government, expressed resentment against the internment of Maulana Mohammad Ali, Shaukat Ali and Zafar Ali Khan, and the strangulation of the Muslim papers under the Press Act was strongly deplored. Jinnah moved the famous resolution calling upon the All India Muslim League to appoint a Committee with a view to formulate and frame a scheme of reforms and to authorise that Committee to meet other political organisations. For the first time,

also, the All India Congress Committee and the Muslim League met in Calcutta in November and again at Lucknow in December 1916, and conjointly settled a detailed scheme of reform as a definite step towards self-government. The Congress-League scheme was the result of important concessions by both sides. The Muslims won a unique victory when the Congress, of its own free will and without any reservations accepted separate electorates and made them the pivot of the scheme. Not only did the Congress accept separate Muslim representation where it had already existed but also agreed to its introduction in Punjab and the Central Provinces where it had not existed hitherto. Another feature of the agreement was that the Muslims and the Hindus were to have weightage in provinces where they formed minorities. The Muslims agreed to forego a quarter of the seats to which they would have been entitled on the basis of their population in Bengal. In Punjab they were to surrender one-tenth of their seats. In return they were given 30 per cent seats in the United Provinces though they constituted only 14 per cent of the population. In Madras, where they formed but 6.15 per cent of the population they got 15 per cent seats. At the Centre one-third seats were allotted to the Muslims. [1]

MONTAGU - CHELMSFORD REFORMS

The 'Home Rule' idea was spreading like a wild fire, and it was at this stage that the British Government decided to send out the Secretary of State for India. The announcement of Edwin Montagu's visit was dramatic in its character and bewildering in its novelty. At the instance of Jinnah, a Memorandum signed by nineteen Hindu and Muslim legislators of the Imperial Legislative Council and known as the "Memorandum of the Nineteen" suggested to the British Government urging immediate transfer to the Indian hands of a substantial measure of self-government. They suggested that (1) half of the members of the Imperial and Provincial Executive Councils should be popularly elected Indians; (2) all Legislative Councils should have substantial elected majorities; (3) all Legislative Councils should enjoy fiscal autonomy and the right of voting supplies; (4) the Council of the Secretary of State for

[1] The struggle for Pakistan by Dr. I. H. Qureshi, pp. 46-47 (University of Karachi, 1965).

India should be abolished; (5) all provinces should have full autonomy; (6) in any scheme of Imperial Federation India should be given a position similar to that of self-governing Dominions; and (7) all Indians should have the right to carry arms, to enlist in territorial units and to win Commissions in the Army on conditions similar to those prescribed for Europeans.

The report on the future constitution of India prepared by Mr. Montagu and the Viceroy of India, Lord Chelmsford, fell short of the expectations of the people, as a result of which feelings were aroused. The Muslim as well as the the Congress leaders condemned the Government proposals. Dr. Ansari warned the Government that the Muslims would not allow for a single minute either the Government or the Hindus to make any changes in the right of separate representation.

The Report envisaged a dyarchy. Certain subjects in each province were to be "transferred" to the control of Ministers chosen from and responsible to the majority in the Legislative Council. In this sphere the Governor was normally to act on the advice of ministers. The other subjects were to be "reserved" to remain under the control of the Governor and his Executive Council, whose members would be officials responsible, not to the provincial Legislative Council, but to the Secretary of State. The Governor was empowered to enact any Bill, including a money Bill, over the head of the Legislative Council if he "certified" that it was essential.[1]

At the Centre, the Imperial Legislative Council was to be replaced by a bicameral legislature, the Indian Legislative Assembly and the Council of State. The Legislative Assembly had 106 elected and 40 nominated (25 of them official) members. It sat for three years with the power of earlier dissolution. The Council of State had 61 members, with an unofficial majority, elected for five years. The official "bloc" at the Centre thus disappeared. The Provincial Councils were also largely increased. The Bengal Council had 139 members, Madras 127, and Bombay 111. At least 70 per cent of their members were to be non-officials. To accord with the new status of the provinces and

[1] Montagu-Chelmsford Report, Sections 218-221.

make the new system possible the United Provinces, the Punjab, Bihar and Orissa, and later Burma (1923) and the Frontier Province (1932) were given both Governors and Councils.

Finally, at the end of ten years a commission should be appointed to examine the working of the system and to advise as to whether the time had come for a complete responsible government in any province or provinces or whether some subjects now "reserved" should be "transferred." [1]

DISILLUSIONMENT AND JINNAH'S FOURTEEN POINTS

In 1918, the Congress rejected the Reform Scheme as inadequate. The Muslim reaction was one of disappointment but the Muslim League did not reject the Scheme in its entirety. In spite of Indian hostility, the British Government enacted in 1919 an Act based on the Montagu-Chelmsford Proposals.

In the meantime, Gandhi had begun to preach his cult of non-violent non-cooperation which exercised such a tremendous influence that the Congress at its Nagpur session of 1920 adopted Gandhi's programme which meant a departure from the policy of constitutional agitation. Jinnah's was the only dissentient voice. An inveterate opponent of Gandhi's religio-political tactics, he could no longer remain in the Congress and resigned his membership after more than two decades of ardent association.

Nevertheless, as an influential leader of the Muslim League, he continued his efforts for a Congress-League understanding on all outstanding questions. The Gaya Congress of 1923 shelved a formula evolved by one of its Committees to settle Hindu-Muslim differences. In the Central Assembly debate of 1926, despite Jinnah's eloquent appeal, even a moderate Congress leader like Pandit Motilal Nehru opposed the grant of Reforms to the North-West Frontier because it was a Muslim Province.

In his anxiety to solve the communal tangle, Jinnah evolved in 1926 a new formula conceding joint electorates for election to the

[1] Montagu-Chelmsford Report, Section, 261.

Central Legislature. This formula, known as Delhi Muslims' Proposals, was confirmed by the Muslim League at its Calcutta session of 1927. Instead of appreciating Jinnah's efforts and strengthening his hands, the Nehru Committee appointed by the All Parties Conference, came out with counter-proposals unacceptable to the Muslims. The All Parties National Convention of December 1928 rejected all the Muslim League amendments to the Nehru Scheme which were moved by Jinnah.[1] The Congress, on Gandhi's motion recommended the entire Nehru Scheme to the British Government.

After the Congress met in Calcutta (1928) and prepared its own scheme for self-government and Dominion Status, Muslim opinion became alert, for their claims were ignored as a nation within a nation. Therefore, they held an All India Muslim Conference at Delhi in March 1929 to formulate the Muslim view and the way in which Indian independence should be achieved. After long and frank discussions the following principles defined by Jinnah which later became famous as his "Fourteen Points" were adopted.

1. In view of India's vast extent and its ethnological divisions, the only form of government suitable to Indian conditions is a Federal System with complete autonomy and residuary powers vested in the constituent states.

2. The right of Muslims to elect their representatives in the various Indian Legislatures is now the law of the land and the Muslims cannot be deprived of that right without their consent.

3. In the provinces in which Muslims constitute a minority they shall have a representation in no case less than that enjoyed by them under the existing law (a principle known as weightage).

4. It is essential that Muslims shall have their due share—one-third Muslim representation in the Central and Provincial Cabinets.

5. A due proportion of seats should be given to Muslims in public services and on all statutory self-governing bodies.

[1] Ram Gopal, Indian Muslims, A Political History pp. 213-215, (Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1959).

6. There must be safeguards for the protection and promotion of Muslim education, language, religion, personal laws, and Muslim charitable institutions.

7. A similar kind of "weightage" was conceded to the Hindu minorities in Sind and other predominantly Muslim Provinces.

The most significant result of the hollowness of the Congress session at Calcutta was that Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the avowed champion of Hindu-Muslim unity, was won over to the views of the League. The Nehru Report shattered his belief in Hindu-Muslim unity and thus he commented, "I am exceedingly sorry that the Report of the Committee is neither helpful nor fruitful, in any way whatsover ....I think it will be recognised that it is absolutely essential to our progress, that a Hindu-Muslim settlement should be reached, and that all communities should live in a friendly and harmonious spirit in this vast country of ours." [1]

KHILAFAT MOVEMENT

The end of the First World War meant further disaster for Turkey, and the Muslims of the Sub-continent began a mass agitation on an unprecedented scale against the British Government. This went parallel with the Non-Cooperation Movement against the British launched by the Indian National Congress under the guidance of Gandhi.

The Khilafat Movement, under the dynamic and inspiring leadership of Maulana Mohammad Ali became a movement of the Muslim masses; whereas so far the political awakening was confined only to the spearhead of the Muslim elite and Muslim intellectuals. During the Khilafat Movement the Muslims learned how to sacrifice at the altar of freedom and independence. They learned to fight zealously and fervently for the cause of truth and justice. They were stimulated to contribute their quota of service for the emancipation of the country and the community.

[1] Jinnah, Creator of Pakistan by Hector Bolitho p. 94 (London, 1960)

The Ali brothers and Gandhi helped in organising ultimately the biggest mass movement that India had ever seen—the Khilafat and Non-Cooperation Movement.

There has been much confused and distorted writing on this movement. Was Mohammad Ali merely thinking of Turkey or Caliph ? What was his strategy ? What did he hope to achieve by this ? I found copies of two letters of Maulana Mohammad Ali in the Montagu Papers in the India Office Library. These letters were written during the hectic period to Mrs. Asad Fuad Bey, wife of a Turkish friend, in Rome. The British Intelligence had managed to steal copies of the letters.

He wrote; "We acknowledge that with our limited resources in arms, for by law we have been for more than a generation a wholly disarmed nation, and in our demoralised condition as a slave nation, we could not challenge England with the weapon of brute force. Nevertheless we recognised that the use of brute force was not needed in our case as the work of England was done in India not so much by the English as by the Indians themselves, and we resolved that this work shall not be done any longer unless the British did justice to Islam (in the matter of Turkish Treaty) and to India (apart from the Turkish Treaty which ultimately affected a quarter of the total population of India as Musalmans) in the matter of the tyranny exercised in the Province of Punjab, which affected Hindus, Musalmans, Sikhs etc. all alike and in the matter of giving us freedom which was our birth-right and which would be a sure guarantee that the Khilafat would be respected. The idea was that if the British Government did not redress these wrongs, the Indian people would gradually be asked to give up titles and honorary appointments and other forms of voluntary association with Government, then to give up civil employment in the service of the Government, then to give up police and military employment too, and finally to refuse to pay taxes.

"Our movement is the only live movement of the last two generations, at least, for it has moved the masses in their millions. But our movement is chiefly to be measured by the amount of fear

that it has succeeded in removing. It was fear that had made 320 million of people the slave of a hundred thousand Englishmen. That fear, thank God, is fast disappearing. India's freedom is sure to appear after that. This is the truest measure of our success.

"A fearful nation could do nothing. A fearless nation can do everything, and without bloodshed, if it is like us, a nation of 320 million souls." [1]

The Khilafat movement opened the eyes of the Muslims to the disastrous effect of unity which stabbed them in the back. The Gandhian policy betrayed the Muslims of their right cause and exposed the hollowness of Ahimsa tactics. They fully realised the selfish and aggressive policy of the Gandhian School who wanted to gain all at the cost of the Muslims. The catholicity and liberalism of the Ali brothers and their sincere efforts to demolish the barriers of Hindu-Muslim distinction ended in fiasco.

The secret policy of the Congress to sap the foundation of the Muslim edifice has had its venomous effects on Muslim politics. The magic wand and the inner voice of Gandhi was clearly exposed and microscopically examined by the political pandits, and thus a separatist tendency was visible among the Muslims. Separate electorate, reservation of seats, weightage in services and everything disinct was demanded by the Muslims who succeeded to a great extent.

SIMON COMMISSION AND ROUND TABLE CONFERENCES

The Government of India Act of 1919 gave a very limited measure of reforms which did not prove a success. In 1927, the British Government appointed an all-British Statutory Commission, known as the Simon Commission, to review the working of the Act and to make recommendations for further extension of self-government. On the initiative of Jinnah, Hindu and Muslim leaders issued a Manifesto urging boycott of the Simon Commission because the Indians were not associated with the Commission.

[1] Mohammad Ali, the Architect of Mass Political Awakening by Khalid Ali, "Dawn", Karachi, January 4, 1967.

It was, however, essential to clarify the Muslim position, in regard to the future constitution. Accordingly, in March 1929 Jinnah summed up the Muslim demand in his famous "Fourteen Points".

In June 1929, Jinnah wrote a letter to the British Premier, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, urging him to declare that Britain was unequivocally pledged to the policy of granting India self-government with dominion status. He also suggested that after the Simon Commission Report and the views of the Government of India were received, the Prime Minister should invite Indian representatives to the United Kingdom with a view to arriving at a solution which might carry the willing assent of political India. A similar suggestion was also made by Sir John Simon. Accordingly it was decided to call a Round Table Conference in London between the British Government, the Indian political parties and the Indian States to devise an all-India constitution acceptable to all.

The first Round Table Conference convened in London on November 12, 1930 was boycotted by the Congress, although the Muslim League and other political parties participated. The first session lasted till January 1931, but was not of much practical importance. On September 7, 1931, after a spell of Civil Disobedience the Congress also attended the Second Round Table Conference Gandhi acting as its sole representative. Jinnah, with his usual tenacity and skill, pressed the Muslim demands. Owing tó Hindu stubborness no Hindu-Muslim agreement could be arrived at. The British Prime Minister, therefore, announced the Communal Award on August 16, 1932. It provided separate electorates for Muslims for the next ten years (until the next decennial review), excess Muslim representation in Hindu majorty provinces but only 48 per cent representation in Bengal and 49 per cent in the Punjab (thus reducing the Muslim majorities to minorities). Later, in November 1932 the Muslims got 33 1/3 per cent representation in the Central Legislature. The Award also gave safeguards to the untouchables.

Jinnah was not very happy at the Communal Award, because the Indians themselves had not negotiated it, but he had already advised the

Council of the Muslim League in April 1934 to accept the Award so far as it goes until a substitute is agreed upon by the various communities and parties to secure such future constitution for India as would be acceptable to the country.

Jinnah scored a signal victory in February 1934, when the Report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee on the Indian Constitutional Reforms was debated in the Central Assembly. He moved an amendment to the effect that the Assembly accept the Communal Award until a better substitute was agreed upon by the various communities; the scheme of Provincial Government was unacceptable unless its objectionable features were removed, and the Federal Scheme was totally unacceptable. This amendment was carried in the teeth of opposition by the Congress Party, then the largest party in the Assembly. More than any other Muslim leader, it was Jinnah who foresaw the danger of a Hindu-dominated Centre *vis-a-vis* the Muslim majority provinces.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT 1935

With the failure of the two Conferences, the British Parliament appointed a Joint Select Committee under the Chairmanship of Lord Linlithgow to draw up the Indian Federal Constitution. This Committee assembled in London in the spring of 1934. India was fully represented with the notable exceptions of Jinnah and Gandhi.

A united demand was put before the British Government on behalf of all communities covering practically every important political point at issue. It was a claim for the transfer to Indian hands of practically every power except certain final sanctions which would be reserved to the British Government.

Despite all its merits, the joint memorandum was disowned by the Congress and, therefore, the British Government rejected it. In its place they brought into being the constitution adumbrated by the Government of India Act of 1935. This was a big step towards self-government.

The most important feature of the Act was that, Sind was separated from Bombay to become a separate province. A new province of Orissa was formed from the Orissa Division of the former province of Bihar and Orissa and adjacent portions of the Madras and Central Provinces. These became Governor's provinces along with the North-West Frontier Province, which had been promoted to the same status in 1932.

The most striking innovation was the introduction of federal principle. Indian federation was conceived as a double process by which autonomy was conferred on previously subordinate provinces on the one hand, and the separate princely states, previously bound collectively only by the consultative chamber of Princes, and individually by direct tie with the Crown, were to be integrated with the rest of India on the other.

The federal principle was enforced. The problem of 'residuary' legislative powers was solved by the preparation of three detailed lists, one Federal, one Provincial, and one Concurrent..........The corollary of federation was provincial autonomy. The federal structure was completed by the creation of a Federal Court for interpretation and the resolution of disputes and a Federal Reserve Bank.

The next great innovation was the introduction of responsible government in the provinces. Dyarchy was swept away, to be replaced by a system of popular governments appointed by the Governor but responsible to a popularly elected assembly. Chief Ministers or Premiers became the effective heads of provincial administration and Governors were enjoined to act on their advice so long as their reserved powers were not invaded. Dyarchy, which had been banished from the provinces, reappeared at the Centre, where Ministers depending upon popular support controlled the whole administration except defence and foreign affairs. For these subjects the Governor-General would appoint Counsellors who were analogous to the nominated 'members of Governors' former Executive Councils.

The Secretary of State was retained with a number of advisers, in place of the India Council. [1]

Jinnah was critical of the Act of 1935 for it contained provisions for a strong Centre, which the Muslims were resolved never to concede, but still advised his followers to work that part in the Act pertaining to provincial autonomy.

LIAQUAT PERSUADES JINNAH TO RETURN

After the first Round Table Conference Jinnah retired from Indian politics and settled down to practise law before the Privy Council of England from 1930-1934 and was considered most successful. It seemed nothing would move him from the security of his home in Hampstead. During his absence Muslim politics in India reached its lowest ebb and there was no leader to steer the ship in the stormy sea of Muslim politics. Fortunately in 1933 Liaquat Ali Khan, who had met Jinnah at the fateful Calcutta Conference in 1928, came to England on his honeymoon and called on Jinnah. Begum Liaquat Ali Khan has very beautifully described their meeting at Hampstead.

"Liaquat and I arrived in London and we met Jinnah at a reception. Liaquat immediately began his appeal to Jinnah to return. I remember him saying, 'They need some one who is unpurchasable'. It was a word my husband liked. And it was true : Jinnah was unpurchasable. He listened, but he did not answer at first : he talked of his life in England, and of his contentment at Hampstead. But Liaquat was not to be denied. He said, 'you must come back. The people need you. You alone can put new life into the League and save it.'

"Jinnah suddenly said, 'Well, come to dinner on Friday.'

"So we drove to Hampstead. It was a lovely evening. And his big house, with trees—apple trees, I seem to remember. And Miss

[1] The Oxford History of India. pp. 810-812 (Oxford, 1964)

Jinnah, attending to all his comforts. I felt that nothing could move him out of that security.

"After dinner, Liaquat repeated his plea, that the Muslims wanted Jinnah and needed him.

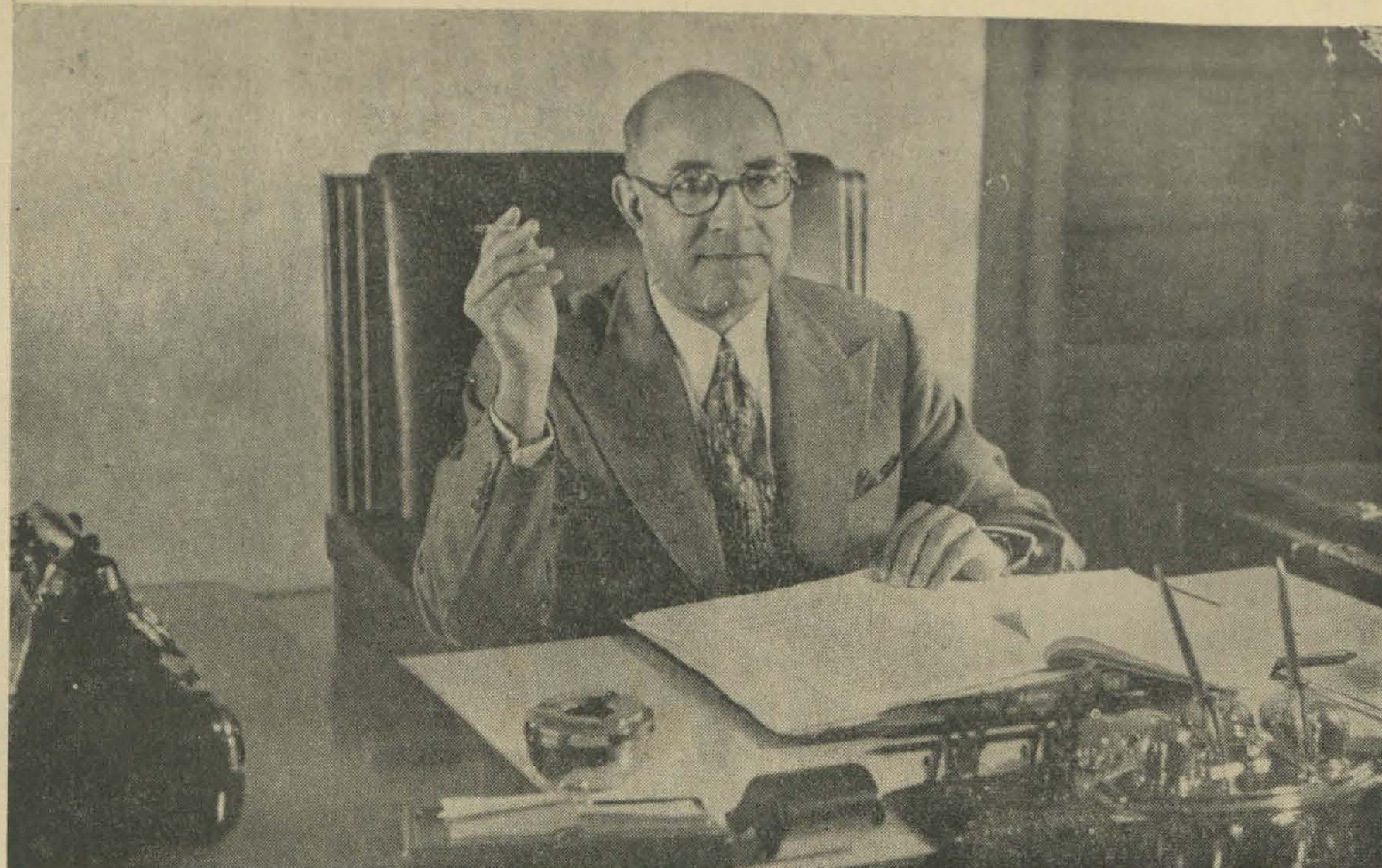
"I had hero-worshipped Mr. Jinnah for a long time. I chirped in, 'And I'll make the women work for you ; And I'll bring them back into the fold'. He smiled at me and said, 'You are young ; you do not know the women ; you do not know the world.' But he listened to Liaquat, and in the end he said, 'You go back and survey the situation ; test the feelings of all parts of the country. I trust your judgement. If you say "come back" I'll give up my life here and return.'

"Liaquat was a very happy man as we drove back to London. We sailed for India and, for some months, my husband devoted every day to his journeys and his enquiries. You know, he was the most thorough man I have ever known. He amassed his evidence—talked to a hundred people—and only when he was convinced, he wrote to Jinnah and said, 'Come.' "

REORGANISATION OF THE LEAGUE

Jinnah returned to India, to prove to himself that he was needed.[1] Undoubtedly during his four years' absence in England, the Muslim League lost much of its influence among the masses and could not challenge the supremacy of the Congress. In 1934, after his return to India Jinnah set about reorganising the Muslim League. His recent experience, more especially during the Round Table Conference had convinced him that the Hindus were pursuing a deliberate policy of which the ultimate, if not the immediate aim, was Hindu domination over the entire Sub-continent of India. With characteristic thoroughness and vigour, he reunited the dissident groups and made the Muslim League an active and united organisation of the Muslims of India. Under his direction, the Muslim League at its Bombay session in 1936, accepted the Government of India Act of 1935 under protest. To fight the elections under the new constitution, it constituted a

[1] Hector Bolitho, pp. 104-106 (London, 1960).



The Prime Minister sitting in his office in the Constituent Assembly Building.

Central Parliamentary Board and empowered Jinnah as its President to affiliate the Provincial Boards. Jinnah undertook an extensive tour, explaining the Muslims to return League candidates in the forthcoming elections. Considering the organisational and financial difficulties of the League its success at the polls was remarkable.

The Congress, on the other hand, carried almost the entire Hindu opinion and won a clear majority in all the Provinces. It, however, rejected Jinnah's offer of coalition Ministries. It was at this juncture that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru declared that there were only two parties in the country—the British Government and the Congress. To this arrogant claim, Jinnah retorted that there was also a third party, the Muslim Nation.

The Lucknow session of the League in 1937, under Jinnah's presidentship, changed its goal from Dominion Status to Full Independence in the form of a federation of free democratic states. This session proved a landmark in the history of the Muslim struggle for separate existence. The Ministerial parties in the Punjab and Bengal joined the Muslim League and thus accepted Jinnah's leadership.

Jinnah realised clearly that it was necessary to organise the Muslim masses and make them politically conscious. Congress, by its Muslim Mass Contact Movement, was trying to lead them astray. Jinnah, therefore, undertook country-wide tours, organising wherever he went Muslim League Committees. He explained to the masses that the whole future of Islam as a moral and political force in Asia rested largely on the successful organisation of Indian Muslims. In order that they could continue to live in India as a separate entity they should unite and organise. Under his dynamic leadership, provincial, district and primary Muslim Leagues sprang up and were organised on a democratic basis. The League, which was hitherto confined to the upper middle classes, now became a mass organisation with Jinnah as the hero of the Muslims and the symbol of their unity. The grateful nation conferred on him the title of 'Quaid-i-Azam' or great leader.

MORAL CONSCIOUS NESS

Renan, the French thinker rightly says, "Man is enslaved neither by his race, nor by his religion, nor by the course of rivers, nor by the direction of mountain ranges. A great aggregation of man, sane of mind and warm of heart creates a moral consciousness which is called a nation."

Jinnah had to play the role of Mazzini, Cavour and Garibaldi for the unification of Muslim India. He had to infuse in the masses the idea of reasserting their hegemony and to prepare them for achieving their lost empire.

The Muslims had no Press, no platform, no leadership, no money, no political ideology to fight for their emancipation. They had enemies on all sides, in their own camps and outside. There were the Hindus to allure the Muslims and entrap them. There were the British with all their imperial paraphernalia to stem the tide of Muslim revolution and stand as clogs in the wheels of their progress.

Day-in and day-out in India and outside propaganda was launched against the League and its selfless leader in order to defame and belittle him in the eyes of the world. Hundreds and thousands of baseless charges were levelled against him, but with his indomitable courage and firmness he carried on his mission of 'Pakistan' with a sincerity, integrity and singleness of purpose which is unparalleled in the annals of Indo-Pakistan history.

NOBLE EFFORTS

He miraculously succeeded in his noble efforts and broke the idol of "United India" with his iconoclastic wand. Young and old, rich and poor, high and low, educated and uneducated, men and women, all rallied under his banner and responded to the clarion call of their Quaid-i-Azam. He was hailed as the saviour of the Muslim nation and architect of Pakistan.

Imagine the short span of seven years ! What a wonderful miracle ! The Muslim minority was raised to a distinct nation and the

ideal of Pakistan (which non-Leaguers and some Ulema thought was an Utopian dream) transformed into a reality. What a great change! What a great contrast! What a great revolution! The two different streams of culture, ideologies, religion, morals, codes of conduct, laws and manners flowed into diverse channels. Thus a new map had been carved out on the face of the world, where, social justice, liberty and fraternity will be the ideal.

Were we to ransack the treasure houses of Indo-Pakistan history, we would fail to find such a magnetic personality. His indefatigable efforts and forceful speeches cast such a spell on the nation and made them so active, disciplined and conscious of their own cause and ideals that "they would march", as Beverly Nichols writes, "to the left, to the right, to the front, to the rear at his bidding, and at nobody else's". He made them realise that they are not a minority but a nation.

How beautifully Allama Iqbal defines the conception of a true leader. "By leaders I mean men who by Divine gift or experience, possess a keen perception of the spirit and destiny of Islam, along with an equally keen perception of the trend of modern history. Such men are really the driving forces of the people, but they are God's gift and cannot be made to order".

Such was our Quaid-i-Azam who lifted the veil which so long had been put upon the Muslims by the pseudo-nationalists of united India. He made them self-reliant, self-confident and self-controlled. He exposed the tactics of the Hindus who had so long relegated the Muslims to the background by high-sounding shibboleths and slogans. He made every Muslim think and feel that he has to carve out a kingdom and become its own architect.

Winston Churchill with clarity epitomises the traits of such a towering personality: "The world naturally looks with some awe upon a man who appears unconcernedly indifferent to home, money, comfort, rank or even power and fame. The world feels, not without a certain apprehension, that here is someone outside its jurisdiction;

someone before whom its allurements may be spread in vain ; some one strangely enfranchised, untamed, untrammelled by conventions, moving independently of the ordinary currents of human action ; a being readily capable of violent revolt or supreme sacrifice, a man, solitary, austere, to whom existence is no more than a duty, yet a duty to be faithfully discharged". [1]

LIAQUAT'S ROLE

Liaquat Ali Khan has played no insignificant role in the reorganisation of the League and the Freedom Movement. The quiet and unremitting efforts of Liaquat saved the Muslims from many pitfalls and led them on the path of steady and constructive achievement.

Jinnah was greatly impressed with the qualities of leadership in him. In 1936 when he was on the look out for a General Secretary, his eyes saw Liaquat as the most suitable person to hold the position. His liking for Liaquat was so great that Jinnah himself moved a resolution on April 12, 1936 proposing Liaquat to be Honorary Secretary. The resolution said : "Resolved that Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan Saheb, Deputy President, U.P. Legislative Council, be elected Honorary Secretary of the All India Muslim League for the term of three years". It was unanimously carried, and Liaquat became, for the first time, General Secretary of the League. He continued to hold this important office from 1936 right upto 1947. The period of his Secretaryship is an eloquent testimony to his great gifts of initiative, resourcefulness, organisation and constructive endeavour. Liaquat did not have the assistance of even a stenographer. He used to answer letters in his own hand and controlled the management of the "Dawn" as its Managing Director.

It will be very difficult for us today to really estimate the great burden he bore and the contribution he made, next to Jinnah, to the building up of the Muslim League as a virile mass organisation capable of giving a fight to two powerful adversaries. Jinnah realised and

[1] Great Contemporaries pp. 127-128 (London, 1949)

appreciated the value of Liaquat's work from the early stage of the League's organisation. In 1938 at Patna Jinnah remarked that Liaquat was the greatest asset that the Musalmans of India possessed and he had found it possible to work with him with the greatest pleasure and harmony. Again on December 26, 1943 at the Karachi session of the League Jinnah said, that Liaquat Ali Khan was my right hand, and he carried a great burden and worked day and night, and though a Nawabzada he was a thorough proletarian.

In 1946, when an Interim Coalition Government was formed at the Centre, he became its first Finance Minister, and presented the best well-balanced Budget, known as a "Poor Man's Budget". He was a member of the Muslim League Delegation to Simla Conference in 1945 and later accompanied the Quaid-i-Azam to London discussions in 1946.

On May 30, 1939, Mohtarama Fatima Jinnah and Liaquat Ali Khan were appointed trustees of his estate and continued to hold this position after Quaid-i-Azam's death. This will symbolised the great trust reposed in his chief lieutenant, Liaquat Ali Khan.

QUEST FOR SEPARATE HOMELAND

Under the able, intelligent and dauntless leadership of Jinnah the League marched from strength to strength and from triumph to triumph. The partisan conduct of Congress Ministeries convinced the Muslims that under Hindu domination there was no hope of justice and impartiality. The predictions of Jinnah proved to be right. What was to be done ? Jinnah adopted the concept in 1940 of the establishment of Pakistan, an independent sovereign State where the Muslims would be in a majority and where they could pursue their own way of life and develop according to their own genius.

The Pakistan scheme had been before the country for some years. It was characterised as chimerical, unpractical and a dream. The Hindus and the British opposed any idea of division of the country. The Muslims were unconvinced. No Muslim body had lent its support. Jinnah's task was first to rally Muslim support for

Pakistan and then to convince the Hindus and the British that there was no solution to Hindu-Muslim differences except Pakistan.

In his presidential address he made an irrefutable case for a separate Muslim nationhood and for dividing India into Muslim and Hindu States. "The Hindus and Muslims belong to two different religious philosophies, social customs, literatures. They neither inter-marry nor inter-dine together and, indeed, they belong to two different civilizations which are based mainly on conflicting ideas and conceptions. Their concepts on life and of life are different. It is quite clear that Hindus and Muslims derive their inspiration from different sources of history. They have different epics, different heroes and different episodes. Very often the hero of one is a foe of the other and, likewise, their victories and defeats overlap. To yoke together two such nations under a single State, one as a numerical minority and the other as a majority, must lead to growing discontent and final destruction of any fabric that may be so built up for the government of such a State. Musalmans are a nation according to any definition of a nation, and they must have their homelands, their territory and their State. We wish to live in peace and harmony with our neighbours as a free and independent people. We wish our people to develop to the fullest our spiritual, cultural, economic, social, and political life in a way that we think best and in consonance with our own ideals and according to the genius of our people. Therefore, Muslim India could not accept any constitution which would necessarily result in the permanent rule of a permanent majority. The only course open to all was to permit the major nations to establish separate homelands by dividing India into sovereign States." [1]

In the Lahore session of the Muslim League attended by as many as 100,000 members the Pakistan Resolution of March 23, 1940 moved by A.K. Fazlul Haq, the Premier of Bengal, and adopted by the League, envisaged the partition of India into two sovereign States, Pakistan and Hindustan. Pakistan, according to the resolution would

[1] Jamiluddin Ahmad, Some Recent Speeches and Writings of Jinnah. pp. 159-181 (Lahore, 1952).

comprise Muslim majority areas of the Punjab, North-West Frontier, Baluchistan and Sind in the West and Bengal in the East.

Jinnah, who had now become the permanent President of the All India Muslim League, gave up his legal practice and devoted himself entirely to politics. The achievement of Pakistan now became the one dominant aim of his life. He had first to deal with Muslim dissidents, the so called Nationalist Muslims who were opposed to Pakistan. By his powerful advocacy and the strong organisation he had built up, the ranks of the Nationalist Muslims were rapidly depleted. Many prominent Muslim Congressmen joined the Muslim League and it became apparent to all that Muslims were solidly behind Jinnah and the Pakistan demand.

HARBINGERS OF PAKISTAN

The idea of territorial consolidation is not new. As early as 1915 Chaudhary Rahmat Ali addressing the Bazm-i-Shibli in the Islamia College said that the northern part of India consists of an overwhelming population of Muslims, and it will be kept Muslim. Not only would it be Muslim, he said, but it would be made a Muslim State. This, he continued, would be possible only if the Muslims shook off the domination of the Hindu Banias and became independent of them.[1]

In 1917 the Kheiri Brothers, Dr. Abdul Jabbar Kheiri and Professor Abdus Sattar Kheiri, suggested a plan for the partition of India in the Stockholm Conference of the Socialist International.

In April 1920 Mohammad Abdul Qadir Bilgrami published an open letter to Gandhi in the Dhul-Qarnain of Badayun advocating partition of India in Hindu and Muslim zones, and even giving a list of districts which was not fundamentally different from the present day Pakistan.

In 1923 Sardar Mohammad Gul Khan advocated the division of India between the Hindus and the Muslims before the Frontier Inquiry Committee.

[1] Chaudhary Rahmat Ali, Pakistan p. 217 (London, 1947).

In 1924 Lala Lajpat Rai, a prominent member of the Congress and the Hindu Mahasabah, wrote a series of articles in the newspapers, "From Ravi to Brahamputra," suggesting the partition of India between the Hindus and the Muslims.[1]

In 1930, the poet-philosopher Dr. Mohammad Iqbal was the first important public figure who advocated partition from the platform of the Muslim League at Allahabad.

In January 1933, Chaudhary Rahmat Ali, a student at Cambridge issued a pamphlet entitled "Now or Never" in which the idea of a separate Muslim State in India called Pakistan was reitrated. Pirzada writes, "It was found that Chaudhary Rahmat Ali originated the terms ....The term Pakistan appears for the first time in the reprint of the forwarding Letter".[2]

In October 1938 at the Sind Muslim League Conference, Karachi, presided over by Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Sir Abdullah Haroon advocating partition moved "a resolution urging that India be divided into two Federations, one for Muslims and the other for non-Muslim groups".

Professor Zafrul Hasan and Dr. Afzal Husain Qadri of Aligarh University came very close to the Pakistan Scheme. They suggested the division of India into three zones, two of them Muslim zones constituting the Pakistan Federation.[3]

CRIPPS PROPOSALS

In August 1940 Mr. L.S. Amery, then Secretary of State for India, stated in the House of Commons that the British Government after the Second World War would give effect to a solution acceptable to all the communities of India, which meant that no constitutional advance could be made without Muslim consent. The Muslim claim for a separate State was for the first time admitted in the Cripps offer.

1 Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada, Evolution of Pakistan, pp. 68-90, (Lahore, 1963).

2 Etymology of Pakistan, S. Sharifuddin Pirzada, 'Dawn', March 23, 1963.

3 The Problem of Indian Muslims and its Solutions, Syed Zafrul Hasan and Afzal Husain Qadri, pp. 462-65 (Aligarh University Press, 1939).

"The next lamp of hope was waved" by Sir Stafford Cripps, who arrived in India with his Mission in March, 1942 but success could not crown him and his Mission failed. It failed, breaking itself against the harshest rock of all—the fact that, while British and Hindu representatives alike hoped to preserve the unity of the Sub-continent, the price of achieving that unity was one which no Muslim could accept, and Muslim opinion by now had consolidated itself formidably under the leadership of M. A. Jinnah, the Quaid-i-Azam.

He made it perfectly clear to Cripps that no constitution for a united India which did not satisfy nearly a hundred million Muslims could be accepted, and that their opposition to it would be broken only by killing them. When they said, "Death or Freedom," that was what they meant.

In his Presidential address to the Allahabad session of the League in April, 1942, the Quaid-i-Azam said, "I think I am echoing your feelings when I say that the Muslims feel deeply disappointed that the entity and integrity of the Muslim nation has not been expressly recognised—Muslim India will not be satisfied unless the right of national self-determination is unequivocally recognised. I trust that in order to give real effect to the principles of Pakistan and Muslim self-determination, His Majesty's Government and Sir Stafford Cripps, will not hesitate to make the necessary adjustments on their behalf".

PERIOD OF CRISIS

Britain, for her part, had no longer either the desire or the capacity to hold India against her will. Vastly weakened by the long strain of war, her overseas investment expended. Britain, once the creditor nation of the world, seemed now to be in almost everyone's debt. Victory had been secured but at the price of world leadership being lost.

At home, her people faced a long period of economic stringency, of shortages, austerity and rationing.

In January, 1946, the long-delayed elections to the Central and Provincial Legislatures were held. This was an acid test for Jinnah

and the Muslim League. The result of the elections settled once and for all the question of what the Muslims wanted. The Muslim League under Jinnah's leadership made Pakistan an election issue. It won all the Muslim seats in the Central Legislature and 428 out of 492 Muslim seats in the Provincial Legislatures. Muslim India had given a clear verdict. The Muslim desire for a separate homeland was no longer questioned by either the British or the Hindus.

CABINET MISSION

The Labour Party attained power and Mr. Clement Attlee became the new Prime Minister who had taken a keen interest in India's problems. In March 1946 at the behest of the British Cabinet, three of its members sailed for India. They were Lord Pethick-Lawrence, the Secretary of State for India, Mr. A.V. Alexander and Sir Stafford Cripps. Their task was to promote in conjunction with the leaders of public opinion, the early realisation of self-government in India.

The Viceroy once more summoned the Congress and the League leaders, and they met the Cabinet Mission at Simla on May 5, 1946. In the ensuing negotiations the British and Hindu efforts were directed towards the establishment of a strong Centre, although the right of self-determination for Muslims was no longer disputed. But Jinnah was steadfast in his aim. He countered all the manoeuvres with an ability and astuteness which won him the praise of friends and foes alike. This did not mean that he was not willing to compromise. He was indeed ready and anxious for a fair settlement. It was in this spirit that when the Cabinet Mission put forward their plan before the two parties, Jinnah accepted it, although it fell short of his original demands. The Cabinet Mission Plan was based on 'Grouping' of Provinces, the 'Group' to be autonomous. Communications, Defence and Foreign Affairs were to be administered by a Union Centre. The Congress also accepted the scheme but, soon after, put its own interpretation on the basic clauses. For instance, it claimed that any Province or part of Province could opt out of a Group even before the constitution was framed.

From the attitude of Congress leaders it was abundantly clear that Congress had accepted the Cabinet Mission Plan with mental

reservations. Jinnah's reaction was quick. He contested the Congress claims and the British Cabinet upheld his contentions. The Cabinet Mission Plan was scrapped. Instead, the British Government declared its firm sesolve to transfer power to Indian hands, to a Central Government or in certain areas to existing Provincial Governments, as it might deem fit, by a date not later than June 1948. It sent Lord Louis Mountbatten to replace Lord Wavell as Viceroy to give effect to this new policy. After a series of discussions Mountbatten announced his Plan on June 3, 1947. This Plan was discussed on June 2 with the Muslim League and Congress leaders including Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhai Patel, Acharya Kriplani, Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Liaquat Ali Khan, Abdur Rab Nishtar and Baldev Singh and was accepted by them. It conceded the partition of India, subject to the wishes of the people in Muslim majority areas being ascertained. Their verdict was given overwhelmingly in favour of Pakistan.

Thus on August 14, 1947, the new Dominion of Pakistan was inaugurated, the fifth largest and the premier Muslim State in the world. After seven years' struggle, Quaid-i-Azam redeemed his pledge and earned the thanks of a grateful nation. He took over the reins of the young State as Governor-General amidst universal rejoicings and began the hardest task of his life at the age of 71.

He did not want anything for himself. Neither office nor honour fascinated him. There was his firm faith in the destiny of Muslims and in Pakistan as the only solution of their political problems. His great political ability, tact and resourcefulness under all circumstances, reason, logic, persuasion and discussion were the methods he used. He outgeneralled his opponents and convinced his supporters by argument and argument alone. No wonder that his people gave him unqualified loyalty and affection. One who for the major part of his life had led an aristocratic and exclusive life became one of the greatest mass leaders of the world.

The birth of Pakistan brought no respite for Quaid-i-Azam. He was 71 and the hardest-worked individual in Pakistan. He devoted

days and nights to the task of building up the young State till his death on September 11,1948.

The German journalist, F.W. Fernau, has paid glowing tributes to the Quaid-i-Azam. He writes, "Jinnah's name was so closely bound up with the birth of Pakistan that to many people he was a symbol of the State himself. His popularity was astonishing, for Jinnah had none of the characteristics of a tribune of the people. His keen, cool intelligence won its greatest triumphs on the floor of parliaments and in diplomacy.........Jinnah was a wealthy man, of aristocratic type and spotless elegance, a man far removed from any sort of speculative philosophy.........".

"In 1930 the influence of this Bombay Lawyer in the Muslim League was unchallenged, and soon he was the Quaid-i-Azam of the Indian Muslims on their road to independent statehood. Jinnah showed the utmost single-mindedness and determination".

REMARKABLE INFLUENCE

We cannot leave unmentioned the great and remarkable influence exercised by those creative geniuses and noble bards, Altaf Husain Hali (1837-1919) and Dr. Mohammad Iqbal (1873-1938), whose philosophy and message radiated light in this world rent asunder with disputes and bloodshed. They sang of the pristine Islamic truth, justice, fortitude, modesty, equality and freedom. Hali's "Musaddus", "An Elegy on the Rise and Fall of Islam" exercised such an enormous impact over the Muslim spirits that for long it constituted an institution in itself. Iqbal imprinted on the canvas of the rising generation the simple life of Hejaz and the Perfect Man—Mohammad (Peace be on him), the Prophet of Humanity. He inspired the Muslims and awakened in them an international and cosmopolitan outlook and warned them of the danger of narrow aggressive nationalism. He was in short, the spiritual founder of Pakistan.

Hector Bolitho thinks that "Iqbal had already studied the miserable dilemma of the Muslims of India, and he had dismissed as impossible the unity that Jinnah had believed in, and argued for, during

more than 20 years. He said in 1930 : "To base a constitution on the conception of a homogenous India, or to apply to India the principles dictated by British democratic sentiments, is unwittingly to prepare her for civil war".

Iqbal advocated partition ; he even demanded and defined the frontiers of a proposed "consolidated Muslim State" which he believed, would be in the best interests of India and Islam. He said, "I would like to see the Punjab, the North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan, amalgamated into a single state—the formation of a consolidated North-West Indian Muslim State appears to me to be the final destiny of the Muslims, at least of North-West India". [1]

Iqbal's letters and ideals influenced the Quaid-i-Azam and since 1937 he became a co-thinker with the poet-philosopher.

There is no denying the fact that the impelling forces behind the Pakistan Movement were religious, cultural and political. What this idea was, is very beautifully expressed by the architect of Pakistan, Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah on October 11, 1947, "The establishment of Pakistan for which we have been striving for the last ten years, is by the grace of God an established fact today, but the creation of a State of our own was the means to an end and not the end in itself. The idea was that we should have a State in which we could live and breathe as free men and which we could develop according to our own lights and culture, and where principles of Islamic social justice could find free play".

ISLAMIC STATE

The first important pillar on which the father of the nation wanted to build the whole edifice of an Islamic State was freedom and liberty. Therefore, on March 23,1944, he re-emphasised this idea in these words: "For us Pakistan means our defence, our deliverance and our destiny. It is the only way in which we can ensure to us freedom and the maintenance of our honour".

[1] Hector Bolitho, p. 99, (London 1960).

The other massive pillars for the establishment of Pakistan State were the preservation of our cultural and social values with lofty idealism and sense of beauty. In a letter to Gandhi on September 17, 1944, the Quaid has very lucidly expressed this ideal. "We are a nation of a hundred million, and what is more, we are a nation with our own distinctive culture and civilisation, language and literature, art and architecture, names and nomenclature, sense of values and proportion, legal laws and moral codes, customs and calendar, history and traditions, aptitudes and ambitions. In short, we have our own distinctive outlook on life and of life. By all the canons of international law, we are a nation".

This is not all. The Quaid believed in Islamic social justice, because "Islam and its idealism have taught us democracy. It has taught equality of body". The Quran has also enjoined that our discussions in the affairs of the State shall be guided by discussion and mutual consultation.

In other detailed statement of objectives on March 26, 1948, the the Quaid said: "You are only voicing my sentiments and the sentiments of millions of Musalmans when you say that Pakistan should be based on the sure foundations of social justice and Islamic Socialism, which emphasises equality and brotherhood of man. Similarly you are voicing my thoughts in asking and in aspiring for equal opportunities for all. The targets are not controversial in Pakistan, for we demanded Pakistan, we struggled for it, we achieved it, so that physically as well as spiritually we are free to conduct our affairs according to our traditions and genius. Brotherhood, equality and fraternity of man—these are all the basic points of our religion, culture and civilisation". [1]

In reply to the speech of Ghulam Husain Hidayatullah, at Karachi Club Annexe on August 9, 1947, the Quaid-i-Azam said, "Do not forget one thing. I have never forgotten it and will never forget it—our duty towards the poor. It is your sacred duty to look after the poor and serve them. I would never have gone through toil

[1] Jinnah's speeches, As Governor-General of Pakistan. 1947-1948, p. 103 (Pakistan Publications Karachi)

and suffering for the last ten years, had I not felt it our sacred duty towards them. We must secure for them better living conditions. It should not be our policy to make the rich richer, but this does not mean that we want to uproot things. We can quite consistently give all their due share".

In the same strain Quaid-i-Millat Liaquat Ali Khan described the ideology of Pakistan to American audience.

"A question I am sometimes asked is : What is the ideology of Pakistan as a State ? I will try and tell you this in a few very simple but very clear words. We Muslims believe in God and His supreme sovereignty. We believe in fundamental human rights, including the right of private ownership and the right of people to be governed by their own freely chosen representatives.

"We believe in equal citizenship for all, whether Muslim or non-Muslim, equality of opportunity, equality before law. We believe that each individual, man or woman has the right to the fruit of his or her own labours.

"Lastly, we believe that the fortunate amongst us, whether in wealth of knowledge or physical fitness, have a moral responsibility towards those who have been unfortunate. These principles we call the Islamic way of life. You may call them by any name you like".

PART ONE

LIAQUAT—MAN AND STATESMAN

LIAQUAT LIVED AND DIED FOR PAKISTAN

Addressing the nation from Radio Pakistan, Karachi, on October 17, 1951, Mr. Ghulam Mohammad, Governor-General of Pakistan, said:

"This is indeed an irreparable loss and no words of mine can bring the balm of comfort to the millions of hearts lacerated by grief. For me the loss is especially insupportable because it was my privilege to have enjoyed his life-long friendship.

"It is tragic to think that within four years of its existence Pakistan should have first lost its great founder, Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, and then its great architect, Liaquat Ali Khan. The death of the Quaid-i-Azam occurred at a time when as a nation we had hardly found our feet and there were doubts in certain minds whether we would be able to survive the shock. But it was Liaquat Ali Khan who by his selfless devotion to duty, his cool wisdom and his indomitable courage guided the nations's steps towards the goal of its high Destiny. Galvanised by the spirit of faith, unity and discipline which the Quaid-i-Azam had infused in it, the nation rallied round Liaquat Ali Khan and gave him its trust and loyalty in unbounded measure. Thus he was able to build upon the foundations laid by the Quaid-i-Azam a fabric of enduring strength and solidity.

"Four years are but a very short span in the life of a nation. During this period we have had to face one after another many trials and tribulations, but we triumphed over them because the inner flame of spirit which the Quaid-i-Azam had lighted in us was inextinguishable and burned more intensely after each gust of adversity. I am confident that the light of this flame will continue to illumine our path and no adversity will ever quench it. In fact the inspiration of Liaquat Ali Khan's dedicated life will add to its glow.

"Liaquat Ali Khan lived and died so that Pakistan should live. Such a death suffered in the service of the ntion and in furtherance of the high ideals for which Pkistan stands is not death but a conques of death. It reveals the true secret of immortality, whether of individuals or of nations".

LIAQUAT WILL EVER REMAIN A MARTYR

Addressing the nation from Radio Pakistan, Karachi, on October 17, 1951, Khwaja Nazimuddin, said :

"To God we belong and unto Him we shall return. Those who are martyred in the name of God do not die, but are rendered immortal. Verily, God is pleased with those who endure patiently.

"Our great and noble leader, Quaid-i-Millat Liaquat Ali Khan, has joined Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, his illustrious colleague and leader, in eternal rest. The nation has been deprived of a noble and great personality, a leader whose patriotism will ever remain unparalleled. It is my firm conviction that the deceased will ever remain a martyr. Our hearts are heavy and grief-stricken, but the life which had been dedicated to the service of Islam and the nation has reaped the noblest and most glorious reward—Martyrdom.

"I on behalf of the grief-stricken nation and State offer heartfelt condolences to the revered mother of Liaquat Ali Khan, his wife, children and other relations. May God Almighty grant them consolation and give them strength to bear this irreparable bereavement.

"His death is not a loss to Pakistan alone, but also to the whole world of Islam and, indeed, the entire world mourns him. The loss which the country and the nation has sustained by his sudden and unforeseen death needs no comment. We have lost a great personality from amongst us in whom all political parties of the country had full faith. He was a man always true to his words and his inspiring statesmanship evoked glowing tributes from the top-ranking celebrities of the world. Not only did he steer the ship of the State clear of all rocks, but he also secured for Pakistan a proud and honoured position amongst the leading nations of the world.

"Though we have been deprived of his presence by the foul act of an assassin, his monumental service to the nation will ever be a source of inspiration to the people of Pakistan. His patriotic zeal, devotion to the people and country and unflinching conviction in Islamic righteousness will ever remain a beacon for the people of Pakistan. He has left for the nation a noble legacy of great and inspiring idealism and it is upto us now to pursue it and prove that we are deserving of his staunch trust in the greatness of our future.

"In this hour when the entire nation is plunged in grief and mourning, we should keep in view the motto set for us by the Quaid-i-Azam—Unity, Faith and Discipline. Times out of number, Liaquat Ali Khan also urged upon the nation to adhere to this motto.

"Our sorrow must give way to this supreme need of the hour which demands of us—Unity, Faith and Discipline.

"Pakistan, which is only four years old, has undergone and withstood many vigorous trials and these are by no means over yet. The first of the series was the influx of refugees in 1947, unprecedented in the history of the world. Then followed another stunning blow on our infant State in the shape of the death of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan. The Kashmir problem still continues to be a source of constant and serious anxiety. However, this is not the moment to dwell upon our misfortunes. We must emerge, as we have before, triumphant and successful from the recent tragedy that has so unawarely fallen upon us. Liaquat Ali Khan's death is yet another challenge which has to be met at all costs. I repeat that it must be met with the mighty force of Unity, Faith and Discipline.

"The decision of the Cabinet has today given me the onerous responsibility of being Pakistan's Prime Minister. I, in all humility, pray to the Almighty God that He in His Mercy and greatness give me strength and courage to discharge my duty towards the people and the country, for all power is in the hands of God and I am but His humble servant. I have supreme faith in the people of Pakistan and their co-operation. I shall devote myself wholheartedly and earnestly to

the service of the State and people and for the solidarity and glory of Pakistan. It is imperative that we all should dedicate our lives to the service of Pakistan, and that our energies and activities should be so directed as to make Pakistan stronger and stronger still.

"I am aware of the responsibilities which rest upon me, and I have accepted this office relying solely on the Almighty God and His help. The task ahead of us is, no doubt, great and enjoins upon us to work hard and selflessly.

"In conclusion, I pray to God and I request you also to join me in prayer that God Almighty may bless me with strength and courage to serve Pakistan and its people in the true spirit of Islam".

THE LAST DAY WITH THE PRIME MINISTER

The stars were twinkling in the silvery light of the moon, the cool breeze was luring people into profound slumber with sweet lullabies and in this hushed atmosphere, dawn began to appear, that I woke up on October 16, 1951, for I had to accompany the Quaid-i-Millat to Rawalpindi.

I reached the Hon'ble Prime Minister's House at 7.30 a.m. and waited for him in front of the big staircase of the open verandah. After a few minutes the Hon'ble Prime Minister appeared, wearing a white closed-collar suit. With measured steps he descended the staircase, followed by his two sons Ashraf and Akbar, on their way to school as usual.

According to his wont he wished me with a broad smile on his face. When we were approaching his big black Cadillac, Akbar playfully said, "Dad, I am coming with you to Rawalpindi". The Prime Minister replied in an affectionate but commanding tone, "No. you will go to your school." He bade farewell to his sons, and the boys left for school without the least idea of the terrible calamity which was so shortly to befall them. We also started on our fateful journey without knowing that the Quaid-i-Millat had fulfilled his wordly mission.

The Prime Minister always regarded me as a friend and an old colleague and, therefore, I enjoyed more privileges than other brother officers. I was seated with the Prime Minister in the back seat of the car, I remarked to him that the weather was very fine in Rawalpindi, whereupon he immediately made sure by enquiring that his bearer Abdul Ghani, had a blanket with him. We soon reached Mauripur. I saw my watch and said, "Today we are just before time". The Prime Minister said; "We must always be punctual". After bidding farewell



The Quaid-i-Millat arriving at the venue of the fateful meeting in Rawalpindi on oct. 16, 1951 where he was felled by the bullets fired by an assassin before he could complete the word, "Beradaran-i-Millat, As Salamo Alaikum.

to the Hon'ble Khwaja Shahabuddin, Minister for Interior; Air Vice-Marshal Cannon, Commander-in-Chief, Royal Pakistan Air Force; Mr. Habibur Rahman, Pakistan's Minister in Italy; Mr. A. M. Qureshi, President, Karachi Muslim League; Mr. Nasiruddin, President, Karachi Bar Association; Malik Sharihuddin, Advocate; Mr. Zamiruddin Ahmad, Advocate; Mirza Sikander Ali Beg, Administrator, Karachi; Syed Shamsul Hasan, Assistant Secretary, Pakistan Muslim League; Mr. A. H. Khan Collector, Karachi; Press representatives and others who had come to see him off, we boarded the plane exactly at 8 a.m. and it took off with one of the few greatest men of the century as its passenger. Our destination was Rawalpindi, where martyrdom was anxiously waiting to embrace him.

He ordered Abdul Ghani to bring his breakfast at 9.30 a.m. In the meantime he read newspapers and talked on different subjects, particularly about the Defence Minister's plane which was being built by Pakistan Aviation Ltd. After breakfast Mr. Manzoor Mohammed, the Deputy Private Secretary, submitted the draft of one speech which was to be delivered at Campbellpore the next day. The Prime Minister scored out the word "Sultanat" which had occurred thrice in the manuscript and wrote "Mumlekat" instead. After this correction he returned the draft to the Deputy Private Secretary for transcription. Being emboldened by the liberty which he had ungrudgingly given me to express my views freely I said, "Excuse me, Sir, I think one sentence in the speech has escaped your notice". He asked, "which one" ? I then read the sentence and he said, "What do you suggest ?" I replied "Let us pray for the souls of the departed than merely felicitate them." He was very pleased and complimented me by saying, "It is a very good amendment." Necessary corrections were made in the speech. Experience has shown that most important men are apt to regard whatever they say or write as the last word, but Quaid-i-Millat was a different man, for he always sought and welcomed suggestions. This, was the importance of his greatness.

The Governor-General's Viking landed safely at exactly 11.30 a.m. at Chaklala airport. Today punctuality was the order of the day. The Prime Minister inspected the Guard of Honour furnished by the

RPAF, and was received amongst others by the Hon'ble Mr. Mushtaq Ahmad Gurmani, Minister for Kashmir Affairs; Acting Commander-in-Chief, General Nasir Ali Khan; Lt.-General Mackay; Major-General Yusuf; Major-General Hayauddin; Shaikh Masood Sadiq, President, Rawalpindi Municipal Committee; Shaikh Mohammad Umar, President, Rawalpindi Muslim League; Mr. Mustafa Shah Khalid Gilani, M.L.A.; Shaikh Manzoorul Hasan, M.L.A.; Sardar Amir Azam, M.C.A., and other local M.L.A's and Muslim League leaders; Mr. Inamur Rahim, Commissioner of Rawalpindi; Malik Wazir Ali, Financial Adviser to the Ministry of Defence in Rawalpindi, Mr. Haque, Deputy Secretary, Ministry of Defence; representatives of newspapers etc. After this people surrounded him and he had a word of cheer for every one. There was a cheerful, happy atmosphere.

On reaching the Circuit House I was asked to call Ismail, the tailor who had made two suits for him. He suggested some alterations as the fitting was not to his liking. He was closetted with the Minister for Kashmir Affairs in the Drawing Room and I went to my office where some people were waiting for me. I returned to the Prime Minister's room at 1.30 p.m. and found him sitting alone. I requested him to take his lunch and have a little rest.

At about 3 p.m. the sound of the Prime Minister's characteristic coughing came from his bathroom which was adjacent to mine and thus realising that he was already up and dressing, I hastily put on my clothes and went to the Drawing Room, where I found Mr. Inamur Rahim, the Commissioner of Rawalpindi, sitting. It was then just 3-30 p.m. and a minute later the Prime Minister entered the room, dressed and ready for the fateful meeting. He was wearing a grey Sherwani and a light grey Karakuli Jinnah Cap. I protested that he should have rested a little longer, but he replied smilingly that the Commissioner had said that they would start for the meeting at 3.30 p.m. I suggested that this was too early and so he sat down and talked generally enquiring about the weather and the mosquitoes etc., and when the Governor-General was returning from Nathiagali. At last at 3.47 p.m. the inauspicious moment of the departure came. The Commissioner sat in

the back seat with the Prime Minister and I went to occupy the front seat, but hardly had I opened the door than he said. "Come along and sit here with me". I sat down between the two. The car started and the Prime Minister lighted the first and the last cigarette. On the way we saw many people going to the meeting place, and I remarked that there would probably be the usual large crowd this evening as always when he was to speak anywhere. Before alighting from the car, the Prime Minister, who was a chain smoker, alas extinguished his last cigarette with his own hand.

At the gate Mr. Hardy, Deputy Commissioner, Rawalpindi ; Mr. Mohammad Umar, President, Rawalpindi Muslim League; Shaikh Masood Sadiq, President, Rawalpindi Municipal Committee; Mr. Gilani, M.L.A.; Sardar Amir Azam, M.C.A; Shaikh Manzoorul Hasan, M.L.A., and others received and garlanded him. He walked between two rows of the Muslim League National Guards under a canopy of swords and spears. People cheered him and raised slogans of "Quaid-i-Millat Liaquat Ali Khan Zindabad", "Quaid-i-Azam Zindabad", "Pakistan Zindabad". The bridegroom of the nation sat down in a big chair on the dais with garlands round his neck. Some insolent gold and silver threads of the garlands were again and again kissing his left cheek. I could not tolerate this. I got up and chastised them by putting them aside. Maulvi Arifullah Sahib came on the dais and recited some verses from the Holy Quran. The Chairman of the Municipal Committee of Rawalpindi read and presented the civic address. Mr. Mohammad Umar, President of the City Muslim League, welcomed him on behalf of the citizens of Rawalpindi and assured him that for the integrity and defence of Pakistan and the attainment of independence of Kashmier, every possible sacrifice would be made. Then he requested the Prime Minister to address the audience.

I was sitting as usual behind his chair on the carpet. The only mainstay of the aspirations and hopes of Pakistan, the protector and the saviour of the poor and refugees, the harbinger of peace, the accredited hero of eight crores of Muslims, the right-hand man and successor of Quaid-i-Azam and the embodiment of unity, faith,

discipline and determination, proceeded with dignity and solemnity towards the microphone. More than a hundred thousand people shouted for his long life and the prosperity of Pakistan. The eyes of the entire audience were focused on the face of their dear and popular leader. His lips opened. The cheering words of 'Baradaran-e-Millat' had hardly reached their ears when two shots in quick succession were fired. The moment he reeled I rushed to help him. I tried to hold him. His head which had solved the most difficult and intricate problems of Pakistan touched my chest. He recited the "Kalma" La-ilha-illullah-Mohomedur-Rasul-ullah (There is no god but Allah and Muhammad is his Prophet) in a very composed and loud voice. He recited the sacred "Kalma" again. The recitation of Kalma, his fortitude, cool-headedness and dignity miraculously saved me from utter breakdown. I gathered my senses and presence of mind. I sat down on the dais, unmindful of all dangers, with my arms round his big warm body, with his bare head in my lap, trying to make him as comfortable as was humanly possible. He lay in my arms as if he was in a cradle. He opened his big eyes—eyes which used to see very far and which used to penetrate in the depth of hearts—looked towards me and endearingly said, "Mujhe Goli Lag gai hai" (I have been shot). To cheer him up I said, "Sir, what are you saying": My sentence had hardly finished when he said in a faint but clear voice, "Pakistan ki khuda Hifazat kare" (God protect Pakistan).

These were the last words of that great Martyr. I opened the buttons of his Sherwani and poured some water in his mouth. He could sip a little but the remaining water flowed down on both sides of the mouth. I said to myself "Alas, the bright star of Pakistan has set for ever".

There was neither any sign of distortion or perturbation on his face, nor was he breathing unusually fast. His lips never quivered, nor were his eyes drawn. His face remained dignified and majestic, with the same serenity and composure which were the characteristics of his life. In fact, he faced death with great valour. Alas! the lamp of the hopes of millions of Pakistanis faded at 4.20 p.m. at Rawalpindi. By the extinguishing of this lamp, innocent children—Ashraf and Akbar



The Quaid-i-Millat listening to the address of welcome minutes before he was assassinated in Rawalpindi on October 16, 1951.

became orphans and Begum Liaquat Ali Khan a widow—that very wife about whom her illustrious husband had said so many times that she had played a great part in introducing Pakistan and Islam to the foreign countries and that she had contributed so much in enhancing the name of Pakistan and in bringing dignity and glory to the Prime Minister himself.

It is ironical that the Defence Minister of Pakistan had no revolver or pistol in his pocket. On the contrary, he always carried a miniature copy of the Holy Quran in the upper left pocket of his coat. I was terribly shocked to hear that there had been a suggestion by one or two persons, woefully ignorant of and completely out of touch with the Quaid-i-Millat's habits and character that he was in possession of steel shirt. Nothing, could be more false, and so utterly contrary to everything the Quaid-i-Millat ever thought, said or practised. It is a common knowledge that he quite literally scorned measures for his personal safety, and never at any time or under any circumstances made any effort to safeguard himself. He had great belief in the Omnipotence and Omnipresence of the Creator. He always used to say that no earthly power could save him from death and when that was ordained by Allah, its time could not be delayed by even the fraction of a second.

Who can forget the memorable speech which he delivered on August, 14, 1951, in Jehangir Park at Karachi. There he said, "I have neither wealth nor property, and I am glad, for these things weaken faith. I have only my life, which I have dedicated long ago to my people and my country and when the need arises, I assure you, I will not lag behind others to shed my blood for Pakistan". He has literally proved what he said, for he was in fact the first to make a gift of his precious life and sacred blood to his people and his country.

He came to Pakistan a refugee, lived and served it a refugee, and died for it a refugee, without house, land, property or money and above all, with no regrets whatsoever for the enormous sacrifies, material and otherwise, that he was making in the service of his people. For him it was never a question of what or how much he did not have, or should have, but of what or how much every one of his people did not have or

should have. That is why even when the exchange of property became legal; when he knew he would have absolutely nothing to leave for his wife and children because he had never acquired anything anywhere since coming to Pakistan, and when friends and well-wishers urged on him the necessity and desirability of agreeing to exchange arrangements for his property left behind in India, his answer was "Yes, my friend but only when every Muslim refugee has had his just share and NOT before. Liaquat's name must be LAST on the list". This was no easy decision or idle talk, for Quaid-i-Millat Liaquat Ali Khan served the nation selflessly, generously and wholeheartedly for the first three years of a difficult and onerous Prime Ministership, solely on the meagre and greatly reduced salary that he drew (a salary thus reduced at his own personal insistence), for it was not till September, 1950 that he was prevailed upon and forced by dire necessity to accept the privileges and allowances of his office. Few will even know or realise the personal sacrifices which have now broadened out into the supreme sacrifice of life itself.

Lucky is Quaid-i-Millat Liaquat Ali Khan, who on the 13th Muharram got his place reserved in the company of Hazrat Imam Husain and other martyrs of Karbala. Never will his martyrdom and selfless devotion be obliterated from the hearts of not only the people of Pakistan but of peace-loving people all over the world. God has forbidden us to say such people as 'dead'. Quaid-i-Millat is alive and will continue to live in glory till eternity.

Nawab Siddiq Ali Khan

AN UNTIRING WORKER

I knew Quaid-i-Millat for a long time as a distinguished Muslim leader and General Secretary of the All India Muslim League. But it was since the second Simla Conference of 1946 that I got an opportunity of studying him from very close quarters. I had the honour of working with him in the Muslim League delegation to the Conference under the leadership of our beloved Quaid-i-Azam; as a member of the Working Committee and the Committee of Action of the All-India Muslim League; in the Interim Government of the undivided India; in the Partition Committee; in the Pakistan Central Cabinet; and in various other committees, sub-committees, conferences and delegations. The manner in which he used to successfully tackle intricate administrative and other problems showed the great administrative ability and political insight which he possessed. He was a born administrator.

The people's Budget which he presented to the Indian Legislative Assembly in March, 1947, was a pleasant surprise even for his friends, because such a remarkable achievement could not be expected from one who had no previous experience of dealing with the technical and financial problems. This Budget, which was universally acclaimed, revealed his great qualities of practical statesmanship.

Those who were much closer to him than myself would testify to the fact that the Quaid-i-Millat was an untiring worker. He would attend to his duties very early in the morning and continue working till very late in the night. Late dinners and very late lunches had become a normal feature of his life. Neither the persistent advice of his doctor, nor the constant reminders of his wife or his hosts, were of any avail. This habit told very badly on his health. But devotion to duty made him ignore all other considerations.

When our beloved Quaid-i-Azam departed from us in the fateful year of 1948 and the infant State of Pakistan was faced with a critical

situation, it was this chief lieutenant of our great leader, who acted as her guardian. The first thing which he did was to see that as a result of the intense shock caused by the severe blow the nation was not overtaken by frustration. His call to the nation was responded to wholeheartedly and those who expected Pakistan would not be able to survive the great tragedy, were miserably disappointed. The Quaid-i-Millat had a great gift of remaining calm and cool in the face of great calamities. The sudden death of the Quaid-i-Azam closely followed by India's attack on the state of Hyderabad Deccan had spread gloom and despondency over the country. It was the towering personality of Liaquat Ali Khan that steadied the people. He stood like a rock, calm and cool in the surrounding turmoil. This remarkable quality of his averted many crises. I need not give instances in support of this, but those who worked with him know how greatly the country benefited by it.

As a parliamentarian, it is no exaggeration to say that he stood unsurpassed amongst his contemporaries. It was a treat to listen to his dignified pronouncements and beautiful utterances on the floor of the House.

Liaquat Ali Khan firmly believed in the great mission which Pakistan has to perform. He worked for the solidarity of the Muslim world and establishment of amity and peace in the international sphere. Peace with justice was the keystone of his policy. He stuck to it even at the cost of being misunderstood in certain quarters.

He had a charming personality which did not leave even his political opponents uninfluenced. Loyalty was one of the chief traits of his character. He was loyal to his country, loyal to his leader, loyal to his colleagues and loyal to his friends.

It was due to his qualities of head and heart that within a short period, he became one of the foremost world figures. His passing away deprived Pakistan of a great Prime Minister, the Muslim world of a great leader and the world at large of a great devotee to the cause of peace. He lived an honourable life and died a glorious death.

Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar

LIAQUAT AS I KNEW HIM

The news of Liaquat Ali Khan's death came to us like a bolt from the blue. First we learnt about the attempt on his life and the shots fired at him. The report also said that his condition was satisfactory. I addressed a message to him and another to his wife congratulating him on his escape and wishing him a speedy recovery. Before the message could be passed on for transmission, there was another telephone call from the Washington office of a news agency to tell us that London had picked up a Radio Pakistan announcement that Liaquat Ali Khan had breathed his last. It was hard to believe. Only a few hours earlier I had heard from him.

I first met Liaquat Ali Khan in 1936 when I was casually introduced to him at the Cecil Hotel in Simla. It was, however, only after he became General Secretary of the All-India Muslim League that I came into contact with him regularly and had increasing opportunities of seeing the great qualities with which he was endowed and which qualified him for leadership. Our association developed into a cordial friendship, which makes Liaquat's death a great loss to me personally.

We were comrades and colleagues in the struggle for Pakistan and that relationship lasted till the moment of his death. We were separated by thousands of miles but we maintained contact through correspondence. Every year I had the opportunity of meeting him in person when I came to Pakistan for consultations. On these occasions he took me completely into confidence and discussed with me freely and frankly the problems confronting our country.

In 1950, when he visited the United States as President Truman's guest, I had the privilege of spending a whole month with him. During that period, we came to know each other better than ever before. I saw him live and work according to a killing schedule with the same

unruffled calm and smiling countenance that could only be expected at the best of times. Those of us alone, who travelled with him during his U.S. tour, know the pressure and strain resulting from the over-crowded programme. But Liaquat took it all in his stride. During the latter part of his tour he was tired most of the time, but not once did he give the least suspicion of it. It would not have been in keeping with his conception of duty.

While in the United States, I had a glimpse of the loving father he was. Whenever he saw anything—a toy, an apparel, a book or something else—that could interest his sons, he thought of them, and if practicable acquired the objects of his fancy.

The general impression of him would be of a calm, phlegmatic and even stolid personality who would be untroubled by emotion of any kind. I knew him to be otherwise. When I visited Pakistan in 1948, I met him several times. On one occasion he was telling me about the refugees who had come to Pakistan from East Punjab and other places beyond. As he recalled in telling me, the sights he had seen, he had tears in his eyes. Whenever I met him on subsequent occasions I was struck by his concern for refugees and the poor in general and the improvement of their lot. He gave the matter all the time he could spare and was always doing his utmost to better their condition, but he never seemed wholly satisfied.

Liaquat is no more. But his memory will be with us always. He was Pakistan's true son and devoted servant. He served Pakistan as no one has done since the Quaid-i-Azam. I am sure the future historians will recognize the full significance of the part which he played with such conspicuous ability during one of the most crucial chapters of our history and steered the ship of State on an even keel.

As is well-known, in foreign policy, he stood and endeavoured for friendship with all nations. He was a devotee of justice and peace—as ardent as any. And yet he was unbending to injustice and threats of superior force.

I have no doubt he will be remembered as a martyr and a national hero.

M. A. H. Ispahani

LIAQUAT'S LOFTY PRINCIPLES

When I was in Tornoto, out on a speaking tour of various cities of Ontario, I received *via* long distance telephone from my office in Ottawa, the tragic news of the dastardly assassination of the Prime Minister. The news came to me like a bolt from the blue, leaving me paralysed with shock and overwhelming grief. It was not only because the nation had suffered such a great and irreparable loss and a major calamity had befallen my country, but it was also because I felt personally I had been left bereaved.

I had occasion, off and on, to come in fairly close touch with Liaquat Ali during my political, parliamentary and diplomatic career.

I knew him first as the popular and energetic Secretary of the Muslim League during sessions of the All-India Council and also during his tour of Bengal and Assam in connection with the 1946 general elections. Once I travelled with him from Calcutta to Santahar (in my own home district of Bogra). Mr. Tafazzal Ali, a Minister in the East Bengal Government, was also in the party. Throughout the journey Liaquat Ali kept up a very lively and entertaining conversation, interspersed with humorous anecdotes, which proved that in addition to being very well-read and well-informed, he was also a brilliant conversationalist. One could not have asked for a better travelling companion to take away the tedium of a long journey.

When I was the Finance Minister of undivided Bengal, I had several opportunities of meeting Liaquat Ali in Delhi who was then Finance Minister in the Interim Cabinet of India. I saw him sometimes with and sometimes without the Premier of East Bengal, Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy. Most of our discussions centred around problems arising out of the projected partition, and often the meeting took place at midnight or past mid-night. What amazed me was the

fact that even after a strenuous day's work as the Indian Finance Minister and a strenuous round of social engagements, Liaquat Ali could come home as fresh-looking as ever and get into the swing of important private and high-level discussions dealing with Bengal's problems *vis-a-vis* the Central Government, with emphasis on her future position in relation to Pakistan, which by then had become a *fait accompli.* Such discussions and talks would last sometimes for hours, without Liaquat Ali showing any signs of strain or fatigue. I had always admitted my Premier, Mr. Suhrawardy's capacity for hard work. I found Liaquat Ali someone who was his peer in this respect. I used to come back from Gul-i-Raana, impressed with the knowledge and belief, gained at such meetings, that the Herculean task of building a new State and a new nation from absolutely scratch would be safe in the hands of one whose powers of endurance would be able to stand up to the struggle and the strain that would be inevitably involved.

Then I knew Liaquat Ali as the Leader of the House in the Constituent Assembly of which I was a member. One of the first acts of this Assembly was to approve the design of our national flag. When a motion for the approval of the design was under consideration by the House, a stirring appeal was made by one of the front-benchers of the Opposition that, as the members of the minority had thrown in their lot with Pakistan and would be prepared to die for the honour and glory of the national flag, they would like to have some say in the matter of the selection of the design, and, therefore, the Opposition objected to the grant of ready approval to the sample flag which Liaquat Ali had presented to the House. I was sitting behind the Prime Minister and was considerably moved by the debate that had ensued. I appealed to Liaquat Ali to agree to a recess and the formation of a committee to consider this matter. He explained to me that flags had been sent to our Missions abroad and at that stage it would neither be possible nor practical to change the design which had been selected beforehand. I told him then that in view of the noble sentiments expressed by the Opposition, it would perhaps be a good gesture if we at least permit them to have their say in the Committee, and since we were in a majority, we would always be able to carry our own motion, if we failed to secure

unanimous agreement. My point was that in this way we would be able to demonstrate a spirit of co-operation with all sections of the people. Then Liaquat Ali looked at me and said that he regretted he could not accept my advice for two reasons. One, that it would be dishonest, because if we were determined to adopt the design which we had in view, it would be merely raising false hopes in the minds of the members of the Opposition and would be tantamount to the perpetration of a farce; and second, burdened as we were with the colossal task of building a State out of practically nothing, we could not afford to fritter away our time in useless deliberations when many vital issues were at stake. His words were a revelation to me. I realised—if any further realisation was necessary—that we had, at the helm of affairs of our State, a man who was guided by lofty principles and high ideals.

After almost a year's stay in Burma, as Pakistan's Ambassador, I came to Karachi in the end of January, 1949, for routine consultations with the Government. At that time I was confronted with a very vital problem. Our new Foreign Service was being constituted, and we had received a circular which offered to Heads of Missions an opportunity of being absorbed in the cadre of the Foreign Service as career diplomats. A question was posed in my mind as to whether in the event of my not volunteering to take up a diplomatic career on a permanent basis there was any chance of my being recalled in the near future when a full-fledged service was inaugurated. Until that time I was holding my seat in the Provincial Legislature as well as in the Constituent Assembly, having been permitted to do so at my special request, by the Quaid-i-Azam for at least a trial period of six months. The reason for this, as I explained to the Quaid, was that I was entering into a new career and was not sure as to whether I would be able to hold my own in a new sphere and therefore, I was reluctant to lose both my seats. The question that was bothering me was if I resigned my seats and found myself recalled on the creation of the Foreign Service, I might find it extremely difficult to re-enter the Legislature and the Parliament. I found myself between the two horns of a dilemma. The Prime Minister was away from Karachi and I waited for his return. When he returned from his tour, I rang up for an interview the same

evening, as I was planning to leave Karachi the next morning. In spite of the tiring journey he had performed, he was most gracious in giving me an appointment the same evening, thus looking to my convenience rather than his own. I met him at his residence in his private sitting-room upstairs. I could see that he was tired and was badly in need of rest, but nevertheless he was in his usual charming self when he greeted me. I explained to him frankly my problem. He cut me short and assured me that I should have no hesitation in resigning my seat in the Constituent Assembly as there was no likelihood of my being recalled from Foreign Service, unless—he added cautiously—I made a fool of myself. At that time, he very graciously said that I had succeeded in my mission in Burma and that three new foreign missions were being set up in (1) Paris, (2) Ankara and (3) Ottawa. He added that as the rank of High Commissioners had just been raised to that of Ambassadors, I could have my choice. I unhesitatingly opted for Ottawa (though some of my friends consider that I was a fool to have done so in perference to Paris). I had my reasons and have not regretted my decision.

I left him that evening with a deep and everlasting impression of his innate goodness and his consideration for the feelings of those who worked for him.

It was the privilege of both my wife and me to receive the Prime Minister and his charming Begum in Ottawa when they paid a visit to that country. I shall not go into the details of my close association with them for three days during their stay in Canada.

I also had the honour of playing host to both of them for a couple of days when they stayed with us at our official residence. My wife, who knew very little about the Prime Minister and the Begum personally, was naturally somewhat apprehensive and nervous at having to entertain them; but I assured her that she would be made to feel completely at home. My prophesy was borne out. My wife later admitted that from the very first moment of the meeting at the airport and from the time they stepped into our house, she felt completely at ease and all her qualms were dispelled.

There was one incident from my point of view, which threw a new light on the Prime Minister's character. After the conclusion of his stay in Ottawa, the Prime Minister was due to visit the Kingston Military Staff College. We took off in a Canadian Government plane for VIPs, with other plane for the party accompanying the Prime Minister. We were in the first plane. In addition to the Prime Minister and the Begum there were Mr. Hugues Lapointe, Attorney-General and a member of the Canadian Cabinet, and his wife, Mr. Measures, Chief of Protocol, the A.D.C. to the Prime Minister and myself. The Prime Minister and the Begum were in a separate bedroom and the rest of us were seated in the lounge. After we had taken off from Ottawa, the second plane containing members of the Prime Minister's party was clearly visible through the porthole. The Prime Minister's A.D.C. drew my attention to the proximity of the second plane and said that I could take a beautiful photograph through the observation window. At that time I was smoking a cigarette, so I just put it down on the arm of the sofa and got busy with the camera. When I had finished taking the colour snap, I discovered to my horror that the lighted cigarette had dropped into the couch and could not be reached easily. The A.D.C. and myself tried frantically to recover the cigarette, but we were unable to reach it. The steward in attendance was summoned. I was getting very worried and upset and was hoping that the Prime Minister and the Begum would not notice our consternation. The A.D.C., however, went and reported this matter to the Prime Minister. Anyway, after a great deal of trouble, we succeeded in fishing out the cigarette. I heaved a sigh of relief. When we landed and after sometime, the Prime Minister with a smile playing on his lips and his eyes a twinkle, jokingly accused me of attempting to sabotage the plane. I tried to apologize for my carelessness. He made light of the whole incident and went out of his way to put me at ease. I then caught a glimpse of another facet of his brilliant personality. He had not oniy exercised great restraint and self-control under such a trying situation, but was able in his usual good humour to treat the matter very lightly for the comfort and peace of my mind.

After his operation in the Boston Hospital and on the eve of his departure from this continent, I rang him up in New York on the long

distance telephone from here to wish him "Fi-amanillah". We talked about his operation, when he praised the skill of the surgeons. He was aware that my wife had an attack of pain in the appendicular region just before their arrival in Ottawa, and the doctors were suspecting it to be a case of appendicitis. He suggested that I should take my wife down to Boston and have the appendectomy performed there. He was most solicitous about my wife's condition. I was deeply touched by the interest which he evinced in our welfare. That was the last time I spoke to the Prime Minister. Now that he is gone, I can only hope and pray that the high ideals which he preached and practised will be a constant source of inspiration and guidance not only to me but to us all who serve Pakistan.

Mohammad Ali (of Bogra)

LIAQUAT—THE IDEAL MUSLIM

In my fairly long association with our martyred leader, Liaquat Ali Khan, I was deeply impressed by his great qualities as a sincere and true Muslim. His entire life was devoted to the service of Islam and the Muslim people in the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent. Not for a moment did he forget the duties which were incumbent upon him as a servant of Islam and all his thoughts were directed to making Islam take its rightful place among the forces of the world which shape the destinies of the human race. He naturally came into greater contact with the Muslims of this Sub-continent and later on with the Muslims of Pakistan, but his energies were not confined to the service of his country. He looked upon his country as a part of the great Islamic world and in making it strong he hoped to strengthen the world of Islam.

His devotion to Islam, supreme as it was among all his loyalties, made of him neither a bigot nor unmindful of the needs of the world. We find in him thus a man whose loyalties to his country, to his faith and to humanity in general never came into conflict. He thought of Islam as a means to ending the conflicts which were at the root of the malaise of the human race. He saw in Islam an ideology which for its emphasis on human values, on principles of social justice and democracy, on tolerance, even respect for ideas different from its own, could bring about that sense of proportion and harmony in human relations which alone can create a peaceful and contented world. He was proud of his faith in Islam and he made no secret of his devotion to it. Even when there was some danger of misunderstanding over his emphasis on his devotion to Islam, he did not try to hide.

His entire life shows that his concept of Islam was not reactionary or narrow. He believed in the dynamic possibilities of Islam and its great urge for progress. He did not live in the past; he lived in the

living present; deriving his inspiration from the teachings of the Prophet who had lived more than thirteen centuries ago; he was not afraid of the future and therefore, he was a great friend of all progressive trends and movements. He did not think of Pakistan or, for that matter of the other Muslim countries as lands of reactionary conservatism; on the other hand he wanted them to develop a strong urge for progress in all fields of human activity. He considered it a libel on Islam that those who professed it should not be in the forefront of human progress.

His friendship for the Muslim countries was not based on self-interest. In spite of grave provocation, he endeavoured to maintain the friendliest relations with Afghanistan. I remember an occasion when some persons expressed doubts about the wisdom of our enthusiastic support to the cause of the freedom of Indonesia, because it was argued that on account of the long association of some of the Indonesian leaders with the leaders of the Indian National Congress, Indonesia might not be disposed to be friendly to us and might throw her weight against us in favour of India. He brushed that argument aside without a moment's hesitation and said that the freedom of a Muslim nation was so dear to us that we could not permit any possibilities of its coming into conflict with our interests to stand in our way in giving the fullest support for its freedom. On no occasion did the attitude of any Muslim nation interfere with his feelings of regard and affection for it. He looked on the entire Muslim world as one and worked for its welfare and progress. In the stability, solidarity and strength of the Muslim world, he envisaged the ultimate fulfilment of the mission for which Pakistan was founded.

In the advocacy of Pakistan itself he was not guided by any local feeling; just as other Muslims belonging to the Provinces which now form part of India worked enthusiastically for Pakistan, though they knew it would not bring emancipation for them. He also was aware that the establishment of Pakistan would not solve the difficulties of the Muslims who were to be left in India, yet the idea of the emancipation of nearly 80 million Muslims was so dear to him that he

did not permit such petty considerations to stand in his way. It is a well-known fact that he left his huge estates in India and was deprived of any benefit from them under the Indian Evacuee Property Laws, but he never gave a moment's thought to the great sacrifice that he was making. It would be remembered that he was born in a wealthy home, his personal property was extensive and he derived a large income from his property before leaving India. As Prime Minister of Pakistan he was poor, so poor indeed that when he died he left no property behind him. His bank balance was so small that it could not have sustained his family even for a month. In the best traditions of Islam he toiled without expecting any worldly reward; he lived a poor man and died a poor man in the service of his country and his faith, thus following in the footsteps of those early servants of Islam, the Prophet and the early Caliphs, whose greatness lay in their work, not in their riches because they were all poor men.

Liaquat Ali Khan set the highest standard of personal and public integrity in consonance with the teachings of Islam. Never directly or indirectly, openly or by suggestion, did he seek any advantage for himself or any of his relations. He was incorruptible and demanded the same standards from his colleagues. Not the wildest allegation made by the most irresponsible persons against any of his colleagues went without an explanation and it was this scrupulous honesty and adherence to principles which reminded one, of the great heroes of Islam. As the head of the Government of one of the largest countries of the world, he could have any luxury, but his life was simple and his needs modest. He said once to me that he did not like to get used to any luxuries so that, when the time came for him to lay down his office, he might find it easy to slip back into non-official life. He was not ashamed of doing things himself, and did not mind the absence of a servant even if he had, for that reason to do some humble work.

The more intimately one came into contact with him the more one was filled with admiration and respect for him. The world recognised his great qualities as a statesman and as an administrator. His ability was great, his vision clear, his equanimity ever unruffled

and his judgement always sound. With his remarkable ability he combined great purity and simplicity of character, and in him one saw enshrined those great virtues which are the distinguishing characteris tics of a true Muslim. It is not, therefore, surprising that when he fell a martyr to the bullets of an assassin, the Muslim formula of faith—La Ilaha Illallah was on his lips and his last prayer to God was for the safety and progress of Pakistan. He had lived for Islam, he died for Islam. His greatest love was Islam and at the time of his death the uppermost thought in his mind was that of his Creator and of Islam, of which Pakistan is a manifestation. To those of his colleagues and friends who had known him closely, the world seemed to turn dark with the news of his death, but the feeling that such a life could not have been lost in vain sustained them in carrying on his great work as best as their humble abilities could. It is not every day that History produces a great man and a great Muslim like him.

Dr. I. H. Qureshi

THE QUAID-I-MILLAT

It was on a sunny afternoon 35 years ago on the serene heights of the Simla Hills where I first met that man of imperturbable serenity—Liaquat. I can still picture vividly that scene of quiet activity on the balcony of Hotel Cecil, overlooking the the dark green vale, dense with poplars and pines.

Liaquat was easily the centre of all admiring eyes and I was eager to see him too, for even in far-off Karachi I had heard much about this Oxford-educated Nawabzada of the United Provinces, who was returned to the U.P. Legislative Council from the Landholders' Constituency. The fact that he was elected Deputy President of the Council, and had led a deputation of Zamindars to the Viceroy, had produced disturbing ripples in my youthful imagination.

I was only eighteen when I first saw him and like many a young lad of that age, was full of revolutionary ideas. I could not conceive of him to be anything other than an old diehard conservative, living in a world which for me was as good as dead. I had already drawn a picture of Liaquat in my mind and had decided to approach him only with the object of comparing my picture with the original to see how far I was correct. His very appearance surprised me. That quiet, serene, suave and good-humoured man, speaking in measured English accent, through rings of smoke from a chain of cigarettes, with the tranquil consciousness of his effortless superiority, produced a profound impression on me at the very first meeting.

He had infinite patience in listening to the other man's point of view. He had also infinite patience in arguing his own view-point. When I watched Liaquat for several hours, I learnt my first lesson of how patience is always rewarded in the end. The glimpses I had of his in mind convinced me that there was a man who cherished in his heart

something good for the Muslims. It was not long before I discovered that, though a landholder himself, he had ideas about land reforms which would make a Zamindar shudder with fear. I felt irresistibly drawn towards him. Like a loadstone Liaquat always drew towards those whom he knew before.

He first visited Karachi in 1937 to attend the Muslim League Conference. I was at that time the leader of the Muslim League National Guards in Sind, and had many opportunities of coming into close contact with him. Subsequently at the Patna Session of the All-India Muslim League in 1936, I had led a contingent of National Guards from Sind. Each year Liaquat's sterling qualities of leadership began to be felt and appreciated more and more. It was at Patna that he took me aside and said, "Young man, first learn discipline. If you do so, rest assured half the battle is won".

I met him after that at Delhi and other places, when I used to accompany my father, Abdullah Haroon, on his political tours. Liaquat showed great kindness to me like a loving father, and ever since my father's death, he had become more than a father to me. I had privileges with him which few had and yet I dared not take advantage of his kindness. He was as intimate with me as my own father which enabled me to see and know him, not only as the Hon'ble Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, Prime Minister of Pakistan, but as Liaquat Ali Khan, the citizen, friend and family man—a privilege for which I am, ever grateful—for it has imprinted strongly in my mind the tremendous honesty, simplicity, genuine love and kindness which he had, not merely in the abstract for Pakistan as an entity, but in actual daily practice for every individual in the name of Islam and humanity.

To those of us who had known him for many years, and in the days of his affluence, it was a perpetual amazement how this man, who had known and enjoyed so much material luxury, ease and independence, increasingly sacrificed his comfort, time and money in the cause of the Muslim League and for the establishment of Pakistan, until as the first Prime Minister of the largest Muslim State and the fifth largest country in the world, he reduced his personal needs to purely Islamic sim-

plicity. Marble halls, spacious rooms and banquets gave place to an old, dilapidated and inconvenient residence, a dressing-room on the corner of a verandah, screened off by his own wardrobe, cupboards, and irregular scanty, boiled-food off a tray. Let it not be supposed that Liaquat did this grudgingly or as a pose, on the contrary, he did it deliberately and cheerfully, for his constant cry was that Pakistan is not yet a rich country—it is not right or necessary for me to live otherwise or waste public money. Such an example of sacrifice and selfless service puts one to shame in the present day world.

I saw him once during the winter sitting in his veranda draughty dressing room shaving himself and warned him of the danger of catching a cold. His carefree reply, which was so characteristic of him, immediately came forth. "Thank God, I have at least a roof over my head. Think of the thousands who haven't got even that. Love of luxury, will increase with luxury itself. Once you remove the limit on your need for comfort, there will be no end to personal requirements".

Liaquat was undoubtedly a well-dressed man, but his good suits were very few in number. Messrs Hamid Brothers, were his tailors in Karachi. During these four-and-a-half years he had not ordered more than three or four new suits for himself. What he did was to get his old suits reconditioned. Since 1940 he had put on much superfluous weight and had developed a politician's 'paunch'. His earlier suits went out of commission as a result of this but the resourceful Liaquat, instead of putting them on the retired list, recalled them to service by widening their scope to suit the altered conditions of the post-independence era.

At home, Liaquat usually wore the plainest of clothes. I once saw him wearing a shirt with several patches at the lower fringes. To my surprise I discovered that by some kind of "plastic surgery" part of the cloth was removed from the regions in order to replace a torn collar. This was by no means an isolated instance. He was quite happy with these things and never felt any need for replenishing his meagre wardrobe. In spite of these economies Liaquat found it difficult to live within his means, which now consisted only of a salary which he, himself had

insisted be much reduced (again "because Pakistan was a poor country"). Gone were his lands, property and money and in their place he had never acquired anything. He refused even to consider an exchange until every Musalman had received his share. He had to choose a less expensive school for his children in order to avoid running into debt.

Despite his pre-occupation with matters of the State, Liaquat's congenial temperament and his love and affection for his wife and children constantly engendered an atmosphere of complete harmony and happiness in the household. To this, his wife Begum Ra'ana also contributed to a large extent. She was not only a dutiful wife to him but would look after him specially with regard to his diet as a mother would look after a child. Very often as Liaquat lunched, the Begum would read to him all the important news items from the morning papers and also apprise him of her activities during the day. In particular she would convey to him useful information about Refugee women and constantly plead for the improvement of their lot. At official and private parties where Liaquat was unavoidably absent or delayed due to matters of the State, the Begum always acted as the admirable hostess by keeping the party going until the arrival of her husband. Everyone in Pakistan is aware of her contribution to the cause of the women of Pakistan and her untiring efforts in bringing succour and relief to the refugees. Her organisation today is known in the far-flung corners of the globe; even in Australia, her name is a watchword. From many Australian women who have passed through Karachi I have heard nothing but praise and admiration for the Begum. Being a constant visitor to Liaquat's house, there have been many small incidents in which I have come to admire the Begum. I remember one afternoon when I visited Liaquat's house at about 3 p.m., I found his wife waiting for him to come to lunch. When she saw me she said "let the poor man have his lunch, otherwise he will get into a discussion again. I do not mind having my lunch late or doing without it, but Liaquat must have something to eat, otherwise it would affect his health." Begum Liaquat has played a great and noble part in the life of our Quaid-i-Millat.

When in difficulties I invariably turned to Liaquat for advice and his paternal guidance was never denied to me. One such occasion

which I recall so vividly to mind was when I became the Chief Minister of Sind. Liaquat spoke to me at length in the course of which he said to me, "Within your own sphere you will come across many people seeking your favours. Hold your scales evenly. Never favour any one at the cost of the country. Show favours only when you can do so in good conscience. Be honest and faithful to yourself and to God. Never try to please one at the expense of others. As one entrusted with the duty of governing, always fear God and let the law take its own course".

Another occasion when I solicited his advice was prior to my departure for Australia where I was to take up my first diplomatic assignment on behalf of Pakistan. He said to me, "Usually people say that diplomats have an easy life. But it is not so for Pakistan. God has put great responsibilities on our Ambassadors. Our religion also imposes certain special duties Our Ambassadors are charged with the duty of working for a great cause. Therefore, work honestly and diligently and put your soul into your work. Your aim should be to derive the maximum benefit for Pakistan from the country to which you are accredited. Create friendship wherever you can, keeping in view always our ideals and aspirations".

I know of numerous other little incidents which bring to light Liaquat's human qualities as well as his qualities as a Muslim. I would like to narrate one of these to which I myself was a witness.

In the early days of his Prime Ministership, Liaquat made it a point to visit the different Juma Masjids in the City for his Friday prayers. Each week he went to a different mosque. I accompanied him on most of these occasions. Once when he went to the Keamari Juma Masjid, the mosque was already full and the congregation had extended into the courtyard in front. Liaquat quietly took his place amidst the congregation in the courtyard in the last row. People seeing him, tried to make way for him to proceed to the front row inside the mosque but he declined this and was content to accept a prayer mat offered by one of the commoners.

When a poor old man in tatters came and stood by his side for prayers, rubbing shoulders with him, some people about him reprimanded the beggar and asked him to move away from the Prime Minister. Liaquat got angry and said that in the House of God the Minister was equal to the poorest among them. The old man offered his prayers standing shoulder to shoulder with Liaquat. To those who know Islamic history, one is immediately reminded of the early days of the Khilafat.

I must not close this without making a reference to Liaquat's attitude to our agrarian problem. He was sincere in his desire to improve the conditions of toiling millions and to introduce radical changes in our land system.

I can now disclose something which Liaquat asked me to do when I assumed the Chief Ministership of Sind. He directed me to make a declaration regarding the introduction of agrarian reforms in Sind and the abolition of Jagirdari. I did so at the earliest opportunity, but as I did not receive the backing of the Assembly Party in this matter I could not forge ahead with my programme.

Liaquat, however, kept on reminding me about this. At last I initiated some changes in the agrarian laws. He frankly told me that he was not happy with my poor achievements and that I had failed to come up to his expectations. I may add here parenthetically that I failed because I did no receive the party support for obvious reasons.

But Liaquat was not satisfied with my plea and bluntly said to me, "Then why remain in office if you cannot do this"?

Liaquat never favoured the existing system. He had no love for capitalism and monopolies. He was determined to end these as early as possible, but he believed in the evolutionary method of introducing a reform and not the revolutionary ones. He kept on repeating the Quaid-i-Azam's historic declaration that Pakistan was not made for the rich few, but for the poorer millions.

Liaquat had definite Socialistic leanings. It was not by accident that the first Budget he presented to the Central Assembly of undivided

India as its first Indian Finance Minister, showed positive Socialistic features which were acclaimed as such by the people of the country. Liaquat, the dreamer had dreamt of a Socialist economy for Pakistan adjusted to basic Islamic principles. Had the assassin's bullets spared him......it is a matter for conjecture what he would not have made of Pakistan.

Yusuf A. Haroon

GREAT IN LIFE, GREAT IN DEATH

The cruel hand of an assassin has snatched from Pakistan and the Muslim World its greatest living statesman, Quaid-i-Millat Liaquat Ali Khan. He came in very close contact with the Quaid-i-Azam and received his training under the great master. His quick grasp, outstanding personality, self-confidence, indefatigable industry, sound judgement, coupled with his brilliant oratory were attributes which helped him to rally the nation around him, when Pakistan was deprived of the guidance of the Quaid-i-Azam.

Once I complimented him on the manner in which he succeeded in focusing the attention of the world on the Kashmir issue by insisting on its consideration at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference. He explained that he owed everything to the Quaid-i-Azam, from whom he learnt the manner of dealing with vital questions.

I told him this was his modesty and that the training imparted by the Quaid-i-Azam only helped him to develop his brilliant natural gifts. He was never tired of expressing his deep debt of gratitude to the Quaid-i-Azam.

He made a valuable contribution as a trusted lieutenant of Quaid-i-Azam in building up and strengthening the All-India Muslim League, which ultimately became, as claimed by the Quaid-i-Azam, the sole authoritative and representative political organisation of the Muslims of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent. His work as General Secretary of the All-India Muslim League and the Chairman of the Central Parliamentary Board made a valuable contribution in uniting the Muslims of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent under the banner of the All-India Muslim League.

When he joined the Interim Government of India as the Leader of the Muslim block, without any previous administrative experience,

some people doubted his ability to handle the difficult portfolio of finance but he confounded his critics and falsified them. He produced a Budget, which was acclaimed as a Poor Man's Budget. As the Cabinet was virtually divided into two not very friendly blocs, it was agreed that he should take Pandit Nehru into confidence and explain to him the taxation proposals. The latter took Dr. John Mathai as his financial adviser. He made out such a good case that they could not take exception to his proposals. When the big Hindu "businessmen" raised a storm over these proposals, they found these previous discussions to be too great a hurdle to be easily overcome.

After the establishment of Pakistan he became its first Prime Minister. He served Pakistan with a unique devotion and singleness of purpose. The Cabinet had to tackle most difficult problems of administration and had to improvise everything. Under the able guidance of Quaid-i-Azam, he managed the affairs of the State in a manner that won the admiration of the world. After the death of Quaid-i-Azam, who was the greatest unifying force in Pakistan many doubted the ability of Pakistanis to maintain their unity. He filled the gap admirably and by his able handling of the situation commanded universal respect in all the parts of Pakistan. When the Indo-Pakistan relations were so strained that both the countries were standing on the edge of a precipice, it was again his statesmanship which prevented a clash and brought about the famous Liaquat-Nehru Pact. The situation again worsened in July, 1951, with the concentration of the bulk of Indian troops on Pakistan borders. He mobilised world opinion in favour of peace.

There was hardly any branch of the administration of Pakistan which did not bear the impress of his towering personality. He brought a cool and wise judgement to bear on all subjects under discussion. He was patient to a fault. At many a conference, all others would lose patience at repetition, digression or irrelevant talk by some member, but he alone would maintain his serenity and unruffled temper.

He felt the pulse of the nation, with an unerring instinct and guided them on right lines. Pakistan gradually became a great force

in world affairs in favour of peace. His visit to America helped that country to discover Pakistan, as he put it very aptly.

He played an important part in arriving at a decision not to devalue our rupee, when the pound sterling, the Indian rupee and several other currencies of the world were devalued in September 1949. In spite of the difficulties raised by the opponents of our non-devaluation decision, he stuck to it with firmness which was amply rewarded. With the grace of Allah, Pakistan became strong militarily and economically.

Let us cherish the memory of his noble example. The schemes of social uplift had to be kept back in the initial stages owing to the priority of defence and refugee rehabilitation, but he launched the social uplift programme later on.

He was great in life and great in death. He often said that he had nothing to offer to his nation except his services and his blood. He did his duty and met his martyrdom.

I. I. Chundrigar

FRIEND AND GUIDE OF SIND

There are certain names which will always be enshrined in our hearts and be perpetuated in our loving memory. One of these beloved names, which we shall always pronounce with reverence and adoration, is that of Liaquat Ali Khan. To know him was to love him. Such was the fascinating charm of his remarkable personality.

I came in personal contact with him for the first time in 1938, when he came to Karachi along with Quaid-i-Azam. He was then the General Secretary of the All-India Muslim League and the trusted lieutenant of the Father of Nation. He made an indelible impression on me, and I realised that even at that time he possessed such presence of mind, self-confidence and the courage of conviction and all those necessary qualities which were bound in due course to win for him the trust and faith of the Muslim nation in its future political struggle.

From the very inception of the Muslim League in Sind, I had the privilege of meeting the Quaid-i-Millat, off and on, and discussing all common national problems with him at Delhi and different other places, where the meetings of the Council of All-India Muslim League and the annual sessions were held. My contacts with him grew more frequent, when the Quaid-i-Azam nominated me on the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League in 1942. As a member of the Working Committee between 1942 and 1943, whenever I sought the advice and guidance of Liaquat Ali Khan, it was spontaneously forthcoming. A man of robust common-sense and sound judgement as he was, few could equal his human insight and political sagacity. Even under the most strenous circumstances, he maintained a serene presence of mind and an unruffled cool-mindedness, which was the envy of many politicians. To this may be added his incessant enthusiasm for public service, and his unbounded patriotic zeal. These

were the qualities, which made him the worthy successor of the Quaid-i-Azam.

In the meetings of the All-India Muslim League Council and its Working Committee, I always noticed that his opinions commanded universal respect and were hailed almost unanimously. In fact, I do not remember any occasion, when his judgement failed to prevail on his colleagues. Quaid-i-Azam, too, listened to him with patient attention, and relied on the soundness of his judgement.

Another quality, with which he was endowed by nature, was the gift of persuasive oratory. Whether on the platform of the Muslim League or on the floor of the Central Legislature, whenever he spoke, he carried the mass of popular opinion with him and stirred the deep springs of thought, even among the hoary headed and veteran politicians.

The Quaid-i-Azam knew his man. Once during the open session of the Muslim League, the need for an extempore speech to explain a certain point was felt by the Quaid and he looked around for the man to do it. His eyes rested on Liaquat. Liaquat looked up and Quaid-i-Azam said "Liaquat, please explain this to the assemblage". Liaquat demurred, but got up and started off. We all felt a little afraid but we soon found out that the murmurings were no more and the assemblage was listening to his well-chosen and thought-out words with rapt attention. He got his grip on the audience and went on and finalised his speech. The audience was happy and Quaid-i-Azam beamed on him: "Liaquat, you have done well." That incident clearly pointed to the future leader of the Muslim nation. Much later during his office of Prime Ministership of Pakistan he handled more piquant and delicate situations with the bewitching sorcery of his tongue.

I came to know him from a much closer range in 1945 and 1946 when he came to Sind so often, in connection with the Sind Assembly elections. These recurrent visits were necessitated by the differences, which arose on account of G. M. Syed, over the issue of Muslim League tickets. In spite of all such differences and distractions the Quaid-i-Millat played the vital role in stabilising and consolidating

the Muslim League in the Sind Province. To us he was virtually a friend, a guide and a philosopher.

During his visits to Sind it was sometimes my privilege to have him as my guest. This enabled me to discuss all issues with him, in a very informal manner. I remember how he deliberated at length, on all problems that cropped up and readily pointed out the way to tackle them effectively. It was his foresight and seasoned judgement, which helped us to guard the national organisation against the onslaught of disruptive forces.

I remember the last interview that took place between the Quaid-i-Azam, Shaheed-i-Millat Liaquat Ali Khan, myself and G. M. Syed. It was in November, 1945. The discussions lasted for about two hours and both the Quaid-i-Azam and Liaquat Ali Khan did their level best to persuade G.M. Syed to behave loyally and constitutionally, in the larger interests of the nation which was then struggling hard for the creation of Pakistan and the liberation of our Muslim brothers in this Sub-continent. But in spite of this very powerful personal appeal from both of them, Syed refused to listen to reason or the sound advice. And the discussions resulted in the parting of ways between the Muslim League and the dissenting Syed Group. It was, however, productive in one respect. We established once and for all, that whatever the gains or losses in the political field, the Muslim League would not compromise its principles at the cost of national interests.

This tradition was kept up by Liaquat Ali Khan after the sad demise of the Quaid-i-Azam, and I am sanguine the Muslim Leaguers will always keep up this noble tradition, whatever the hazards. The life and life-work always inspire us to stand for our rights, and to make no ignoble compromise with what is wrong, unfair or unjust.

He had the true Islamic humility and meekness which made him a perfect gentleman. Whenever he possibly could, he would mix with the people without any distinction. He always had a smiling face and met people and situations with it. This was Liaquat whom the world

respected and counted amongst its foremost leaders. These were the qualities that enabled our nation to repose confidence in him and be led by him.

Meeting him was not only a pleasure but also an experience. His attitude was disarming and put one at one's perfect ease. He was a great conversationalist and the charm of it was so great that one did not wish to leave his company and one always hankered for more such contacts. To relate all that transpired in my numerous meetings with him would require volumes.

I will just relate the last episode which illustrates his lofty and patriotic mind. While in the course of conversation about his meagre worldly possessions I broached the suggestion about the sale of his palatial house "Gul-e-Ra'ana" in New Delhi. As soon as I suggested this, he leaned back in his chair with half closed eyes as if recalling something precious to memory. Then he began in a solemn and a little husky tone "Khuhro, I had been actually offered quite a decent sum for that house; but the value of that house was far greater than any sum in terms of money; you see, the idea of Pakistan was born and nurtured in that house and it saw the birth of Pakistan. That house had come to be associated with the Quaid-i-Azam and the Muslim League so much that I thought I would let it be preserved as a momento of our struggle for an Independent State. The Quaid-i-Azam always presided over his 'Cabinet' (Working-Committee) meetings in that house. As you know, I am not a rich man, but it has been always and will always remain my highest ambition to serve my people to the best of my ability". I remained silent and the Quaid-i-Millat rose still greater in my estimation.

He was honest both in his thought and action, and in his private as well as public life. When I became the first Chief Minister of Sind after the establishment of Pakistan he was offered a valuable property worth several lakhs in Karachi for his landed property in Muzaffarnagar (UP) and his house in Delhi, by a big Hindu businessman. But Liaquat Ali Khan refused to consider it simply because such exchange was not officially admissible, as this district of the United provinces

was not within the area allowed for such exchanges. It may, however, be noted that many others had during that period effected such exchanges.

The light that was our guide is no more, but its bright spark will never be extinguished. It will burn more brightly with every gust of adverse wind. It will continue to inspire us and lead us on to that high goal of destiny for which the Shaheed-i-Millat lived and died. Liaquat was the embodiment of all that is noble and worthy in the word "Liaquat" itself. Men like him are not born every other day. Indeed, the flower blooms each spring but men of Liaquat's type are a rare production.

M. A. Khuhro

EMBODIMENT OF SINCERITY

I first met Liaquat Ali Khan at Naini Tal in October, 1935, when he led a deputation of the Agra Province Zamindars' Association before the Indian Delimitation Committee, of which I was a member. In our papers he had been described as Nawabzada Mohammad Liaquat Ali Khan Sahib M. A. (Oxon) Barrister-at-Law, M.L.C. and I eagerly wanted to see an enlightened Muslim Zamindar of the United Provinces. For the official recognition of his Association he argued his case so admirably that he won the esteem of all the members of the Committee. The one significant thing that impressed us the most was his selection as spokesman by his colleagues who were all leading and well educated Hindu zamindars of Agra Province. To us this clearly demonstrated the great popularity he enjoyed among his compeers, whether Muslims or non-Muslims. The same evening we happened to meet him at close quarters at a dinner arranged at the Government House, Naini Tal, and all of us congratulated him on the able manner in which he had supported the cause of his fraternity. This laid the foundation of a friendship which I greatly valued ever afterwards. It may be mentioned that his talented wife, Begum Ra'ana Liaquat Ali Khan, also appeared before the Committee to fight for the cause of women single-handed.

I remained a Judge of the High Court until 1946, and as such I could not take any part in politics during the years that intervened. I met Liaquat Ali Khan only occasionally whenever he happened to visit Lahore in connection with the Muslim League affairs. I can, however, say without any hesitation that anybody who talked to him about his mission in those days saw a real embodiment of sincerity, firmness and determination.

Fortune again brought us close together in June, 1946, when I was appointed to an office at New Delhi. Those were the most critical days for the Muslims of India. The British Parliamentary Commission

had been entrusted with the task of shaping the future destiny of the Muslims and all the Muslim leaders had to fight a tough battle not only against their Hindu neighbours but also against the British rulers. Unruffled and unperturbed, possessing an unshakable faith in the justness of his cause and weathering every storm that came in his way, Liaquat Ali Khan continued the grim struggle in the companionship of his leader, the Quaid-i-Azam.

A few months later, Liaquat Ail Khan joined Lord Wavell's Cabinet and was assigned the most difficult portfolio of Finance. People who did not know him entertained some doubts about his ability to cope with the new situation, but all these misgivings were dispelled when he presented his first and the last Budget in the Legislative Assembly of undivided India. He unmistakably proved to the world that he was a man of great parts, capable of bearing any burden that was placed on his broad shoulders. I was present in the Assembly on that memorable day and saw with pride and pleasure the great enthusiasm with which his achievement was acclaimed.

Shortly afterwards, Liaquat Ali Khan moved to Karachi to occupy the unique position of the first Prime Minister of Pakistan, the largest Muslim State in the world. Before the creation of this Dominion was formally announced I met him at his house to discuss with him what, as member of the Punjab Boundary Commission, I had learnt. The news was disturbing indeed, but he was quite calm and composed.

In early 1946 I had an occasion to work under his guidance in an important affair of the State and every time that I came into contact with him, the esteem and regard that I entertained for him was substantially enhanced.

During the three years that I was the Governor of Sind. I had innumerable opportunities to watch him closely and to study him from different angles of vision. It is impossible to recall any occasion when his face did not wear a smile of dignity and confidence. There were difficult moments for the State, sometimes moments which might

have unnerved an ordinary mortal, but they did not shake him in the least.

Liaquat Ali Khan was always affable, suave and serene. He was a capable administrator, a sound statesman, an eloquent speaker, a pleasant companion and a genuine friend. In short, history will rank him as one of the greatest men of his age.

To my great misfortune, the friendship that had lasted for sixteen years came to an abrupt end by his martyrdom on October 16, 1951, at the hands of a fell assassin. By his death the nation has lost a jewel which will not be easy to replace. The only solace in the words of Horace is, "*Dulcet decorum est pro-patrio-mori*", it is sweet and honourable to die for one's country.

Din Mohammad

DAYS AT OXFORD

When I think of Liaquat—I cannot bear to call an old friend by his honorifics—my mind goes back to the days when he and I were together at Oxford. Whenever we met we took a pleasure in recalling those old carefree days. The last time I met him was in the Government House, New Delhi, in July 1950, when India and Pakistan seemed to be on the verge of war and the two Prime Ministers took counsel together and averted a tragedy. That, alas, was fated to be our last meeting. Liaquat then walked up to me across the Durbar Hall of the Government House and introduced me to a friend with the words "K.P.S. was at Oxford with me". "Or", he added banteringly but graciously, "I should rather say I was with K.P.S." and then he went on to relate how I got a First, won a scholarship, made such and such a speech, etc. Those achievements of mine have already been forgotten, but Liaquat's achievements in building up a State and fostering it in its first critical years will remain in man's memory to the end of time.

At Oxford, Liaquat did not show any sure signs of his future greatness. Nor, for that matter, did Jawaharlal Nehru at Cambridge. At that time, the Republic of India, of which Jawaharlal was the first Prime Minister, was but a dream—and a seditious one. And the State of Pakistan, of which Liaquat was the first Prime Minister, was not even a dream. It was darkly hidden in the womb of time; it had no local habitation or a name; and its progenitor, Mohammed Ali Jinnah, was, at that time, an ardent Indian nationalist. The only man, in whose mind the image of Pakistan had reflected itself even before it was conceived, was Cheiro, the author of the Book of Numbers. Two prophecies in that book have always struck my sceptical mind as a phenomenal shadow-casting of coming events. One was that the Prince of Wales would be smitten by love and lose his throne. The other was that, on becoming independent, India would wade through

rivers of blood and be partitioned into two. I still remember the incredulous horror with which I read that prophecy in 1922, but now I cherish no more fervent wish than that Pakistan should remain for ever as our stable and friendly neighbour.

The mention of Cheiro brings to my mind an amusing episode in our relations with Liaquat. After he and I parted company at Oxford in 1922 we met seldom until 1935, when I came to Delhi as a Deputy Secretary. By that time we both had acquired wives; and they, too struck up a friendship and listened condescendingly to their husband's reminiscences of their undergraduate days. They discussed, as women in all ages and all climes would, of babies and sarees and fortune-tellers and astrologers. In particular, they were interested in a relation of V.P. Menon, who claimed to be a palmist and student of Cheiro's theory of Numbers. He convinced the Liaquats that 8 was their unlucky number; that is why their palatial house on Hardinge Avenue, which was then being built and which is now occupied by the universally-respected High Commissioner of Pakistan in India, bears the number 8-B and not 8. And the date of Liaquat's assassination, the 16th day of the 10th month of 1951 in which the digits add up to 8, and 16 itself is a multiple of 8, might be adduced to confirm this theory. The sanest of us have a streak of superstition; and Liaquat was human enough not to reject it.

But to return from Cheiro to Oxford. At Oxford in my time, there were many Indians, who showed great brilliance, real or flashy. There was, for instance, M.C. Chagla, who, with his intense concentration and indefatigable industry, was born to be a Judge. There was P.N. Sapru who, with his distinguished father, native charm and adorable absent-mindedness, was meant to be a politican and turned out to be a Judge. There were the two brothers, Habib and Mujeeb, who were, and have remained scholars, the one in Aligarh and the other in the Jamia Millia Islamia. There was T.C. Goswami, who, with his pleasant personality, his Rolls Royce, his Savile Row suits and his golden eloquence, should have gone far but hasn't. There was Shoaib Qureshi, handsome, urbane, accomplished, who, after his vicissitudes in Indian States, became Pakistan's first Ambassador in Moscow. More striking

than all was Abdur Rahman Siddiqi, a fiery nationalist, who made fiery speeches and yet, who, in later life, found business more alluring than politics. And then there were men like myself who also swam with the tide and made vehement anti-British speeches in the Indian Majlis, and at the same time sedulously prepared for the I.C.S. which after all, was the instrument of the British, and is now the instrument of Indian rule in India.

There was something green and crude about our antics at Oxford. Liaquat was amongst us and yet somehow not quite of us. He was a general favourite and yet stood apart from us. There was something detached and serene about him. Here was a man who seemed to have reserves of strength, who was content to bide his time. He would not play to the gallery, whether at the Oxford Union or the Indian Majlis. He did attend both regularly and took part in the debates occasionally, but he did not pose as a super-patriot or indulgent in violent and meaningless talk. In his own quiet way he took part in the multifarious activities of the University; he enjoyed punting and was an accomplished tennis player. Above all, he was a good host, and I retain pleasant memories of his parties, where good conversation flowed as gently and freely as good wine. Caught up in the vortex of politics, he developed harsher qualities in his later days; but I shall always remember him as a kindly, friendly soul, in whom sweetness of character was so well blended with strength that, though he lived to be a hero and died as a martyr, he was, first and foremost, a gentleman.

K. P. S. Menon

A RECORD OF SUCCESS

Four personalities have towered above the rest in the history of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent since it acquired its freedom and split into two separate States on August 14, 1947—Gandhi, Jinnah, Nehru and Liaquat Ali Khan. Liaquat Ali Khan had not that touch of charisma which distinguished the other three ; he appeared to be one of the Lord's anointed, if only because he seemed to be too practical and level-headed, in a word, too normal a person, to rank among those who are destined to make history or to win the martyr's crown. Yet, by virtue of sheer solid achievement, paced into the space of four testing critical years, he takes his honoured place among the great ones.

Si monumentum requiris......Pakistan is his memorial and stands for all to see. Four years ago the world as a whole was inclined to regard her as a figment of Jinnah's brain, an artificial creation of dubious survival value. Her most priceless asset was a final Court of Appeal in the person of the Quaid-i-Azam himself, a leader above criticism who, in the last resort, could always be relied on to hold the structure together. When Jinnah was removed by the hand of death in September 1948 it was doubted whether Liaquat Ali Khan, admirable as he had proved himself in the capacity of a lieutenant, was a big enough man to take over the helm. Three years of Liaquat Ali Khan's leadership carried Pakistan through difficulty and crisis to the achievement of a degree of political stability rare in any democratic country—let alone a newly formed Eastern State—of economic prosperity beyond her own rosiest dreams, and of an honoured place in the affairs of nations. To more than any other single individual the credit for this belongs to the man who fell to an assassin's bullet on October 16. It was a record of successful accomplishment the like of which few modern statesmen could boast.

It was in the sphere of international relations that Liaquat Ali Khan found himself most severely tested and incurred the most serious opposition and criticism within his own country. The ideological basis of Pakistan was still, in the early years, the subject of controversy, and it was this which must serve as the background for Pakistan's foreign policy. Liaquat Ali Khan was faced with the difficult problem of reconciling Islamic affiliations and sentiment with the practical needs of a young country occupying an important strategic position but materially weak and menaced by unfriendly neighbours. He himself was modern in outlook and Western in sympathy, although he remained throughout a good Muslim and died repeating the Kalima. It is not too much to say that he had worked out a very satisfactory synthesis in his own mind and that, fundamentally, his main task was to produce the same in his people. If he did not succeed, it was because he was not granted the time ; but it was evident to those who watched the gradual shaping of Pakistan's ideological status during the early four years that he was slowly but surely leading public opinion along the right line. The Objectives Resolution, the only part of the Constitution adopted, during Liaquat's premiership, was a truly admirable piece of work, designed with consummate skill to satisfy both the most ardent Muslims and the most apprehensive members of the minority communities. Liaquat Ali Khan was by no means finished with the Mullahs, but a good start had been made.

In his actual handling of the problems of foreign relations Liaquat Ali Khan's career seems to fall into two distinct periods, with the Commonwealth Prime Minister's Conference of May 1949 as the dividing line. It is important to remember that, throughout, Kashmir has been the lodestar of Pakistan's foreign policy. Her prime object has been, and is, to secure the the recognition of the world to Pakistan's moral right—of this every Pakistani has been unalterably convinced from the outset—not indeed, to secure the accession of Kashmir to Pakistan, but to secure a fair plebiscite which would decide whether Kashmir is to accede to India or to Pakistan. In her early days Pakistan under the leadership of Jinnah and Liaquat Ali Khan, both of whom were firm believers in the value of the Commonwealth and were

genuinely anxious to be good members of the great association of nations looked with confidence, almost indeed with the innocence of a child unused to the harsh ways of the world towards Britain and her other fellow members of the Commonwealth, and towards the free nations of the world. Delays and ineffectiveness in the Councils of the United Nations soon produced disillusionment, and this culminated in bitter disappointment at the results of the Conference of May, 1949 when India was permitted to remain within the Commonwealth while adopting the republic status. Pakistanis generally became convinced that power politics dominated the international scene, and that only lip-service was done to the principles of justice and fair-play.

At this stage Liaquat Ali Khan seems to have pulled his chair up to the table, called for his counters, and decided to take a hand in the poker game. Declaring that the Commonwealth must not take Pakistan for granted or treat her as a mere camp-follower, he deliberately set out to place Pakistan on the map. When Nehru was invited by President Truman to visit the States, he raised the stake by getting himself invited by the Kremlin to visit Russia. This earned him immense popularity in his own country and was regarded as master stroke. Certainly it served the purpose of making the free world, which was then becoming acutely conscious of the Communist menace in the East, sit up and take notice. It also gained Liaquat Ali Khan an invitation to visit the United States of America. The visit was carried out, and he and the Begum both made an excellent impression, while the Russian invitation went into cold storage. This political manoeuvring was possibly a shade crude, but it seemed to work.

Liaquat Ali Khan could have continued to gain a cheap popularity at home by a policy of playing off Russia against the United States of America and making brave show of independence. He was, however, too sensible a man to fall a victim to the temptation of overdoing it. His next major move took place when he fluttered the diplomatic dovecots and focused the attention of the world on Pakistan by refusing to attend the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Con-



Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan ,also the Defence Minister, with senior Pakistan Army Officers at Rawalpindi in 1949.

ference of January 1951 until it had been agreed that the Kashmir dispute would be discussed there. This, once again, earned him wild applause at home. He then proceeded to gain a marked advantage over Nehru by his reasonable approach to the problem and his readiness to agree to the various alternative proposals put forward by the other Commonwealth Prime Ministers. From then on the British Press was generally convinced of the justice of Pakistan's attitude towards the Kashmir dispute ; at any rate, it could not be denied that it was Nehru, not Liaquat Ali Khan, who was standing in the way of a reasonable settlement. This was indeed a masterly achievement, and by it Liaquat Ali Khan gained new stature at home and abroad.

Relations between India and Pakistan were unfortunately destined to remain Liaquat Ali Khan's big unsolved problem. The people of Pakistan had almost lost patience and retained little faith in the United Nations. As the supreme advocate of patience and moderation, Liaquat Ali Khan not only incurred criticism but ran into danger. The military conspiracy which was unearthed in the early months of the year (1951) seems to have been partly the outcome of a feeling of frustration and a desire to resort to desperate measures for the solution of the Kashmir problem. Nothing stands more highly to Liaquat Ali Khan's credit than that he refused to gamble with the face of his country by making some dramatic move or resorting to some desperate expedient. In point of fact, he had achieved greater progress towards a successful outcome of the Kashmir affair than most Pakistanis seemed to realize. By accepting, and showing full readiness to implement, all the successive solutions proposed by the various United Nations mediators and by the Commonwealth Prime Ministers, by offering repeatedly to submit all differences between his country and India to arbitration, he had proved to the world that Pakistan not only had a clear conscience and faith in the justice of her cause but stood for a peaceful and reasonable approach to this and all other international disputes.

Sir Olaf Caroe

PERSONAL REMINISCENCES

It was no surprise to anyone that the mantle of leadership of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah fell on the shoulders of Liaquat Ali Khan. There is a saying that the hour produces the man. That saying is generally used when in the vacuum caused by a crisis the material of regeneration suddenly becomes apparent. I like the saying because it is a piece of democratic thought. In the days of hereditary Government, the successor of a departed leader was predestined; but not always to the benefit of the people. However, when Pakistan suffered the great tragedy of its Founder's death the hour did not need to produce the man. He had already been produced over a number of years as the Founder's chief lieutenant.

Liaquat Ali Khan's ideals and policies were those of his leader, and respect of the Quaid-i-Azam coloured all his actions from taking over until the day of his tragic death. He had qualities entirely his own, but so wrapped up was he in the feeling that the whole of his work was a continuation of the Founder's work, that he often attributed those qualities, when other people praised them, to his long association with the Quaid-i-Azam.

Liaquat Ali Khan's relation with his colleagues were in the nature of collaboration on a friendly basis, although he did not leave any doubt that he was the chief collaborator. Having framed his plans he explained them to his colleagues, not imposing them, for he almost always found he could carry his point of view without seeking forceful domination of others' judgements. Of course, the same method of persuasion was moderated in international conferences. However, there again he still relied largely on persuasion. When he felt compelled to come out strongly on some matter he did so without any change in his customary calm speech and bearing on such occasions.

Of course there was a connection between his high political duties and his personal inclinations. An instance comes to my mind. At one of the conferences of Commonwealth Prime Ministers in London, the Quaid-i-Millat Liaquat Ali Khan sent Prince Charles a gift suitable for a child upon which the donor's name was inscribed. The Picture Press wanted to photograph the gift, but Liaquat courteously declined. He regarded the present as being of a friendly nature and as such should not be made the medium of publicity. Although he realised that his own country needed its story to be told he sought to avoid advertisement for himself. Sometimes he wished not to publicise some achievement of his own and could only be persuaded to make the matter known to the press on being reminded that it was to Pakistan's credit as well as to his own.

During meals he spoke on politics only if it became evident that his guests expected him to do so. He would never imagine that he exchanged a dinner table for a platform to declaim on policy, achievements or grievances. At a social or public dinner he never intended his conversation to be of a compelling nature, yet it often happened that guests found themselves listening to him rather than to their immediate neighbours.

The overwhelming theme of his life was his love for Pakistan. This, coupled with his instincts of self-sacrifice and complete absence of fear, enabled him to render immeasurable service to his country, although it was this eagerness for self-sacrifice and his insistent fearlessness which brought about his end. Pakistan was indeed fortunate in having a man like Liaquat Ali Khan to carry on the tremendous task of the Quaid-i-Azam.

Habib Ibrahim Rahimtoola

LIAQUAT—THE MARTYR

It is very difficult under the impact of a tragedy to attempt anything like an appraisal of the great personality who happens to be the victim of that tragedy. In the case of the Shaheed-i-Millat it becomes doubly more difficult, for the personal grief and anguish caused by the calamity leaves one almost unfit to make a study of a personality so noble. I am not competent to give an appreciation of a life crowded with glorious achievements which has carved out an indelible niche for itself in the halls of memory. Whatever I say may be taken as an humble tribute of loyal and affectionate remembrance and homage from one who had the good fortune to work with and for the great man both during the period his political career was in the making, and the time when he was leading the destinies of a nation.

Liaquat Ali Khan, no doubt was the scion of a Muslim aristocratic family which held a prominent position in the days of the Mughal Empire. He was born at a crucial stage of Indo-Pakistan history—the period of transformation from the decaying embers of Mughal Society to the new life opening out under the rule of a European Power. Like all sons of aristocratic families in those days he received his early schooling at home. The Muslims being the worst sufferers from the advent of British rule naturally had strong prejudices against ideas and institutions introduced by the British. It is wrong to suppose that this prejudice had its roots in mere religious fanaticism ; it was more an expression of national pride and susceptibility which had been deeply wounded. This was the real reason why well-to-do and cultured families were slow and hesitant to send their sons to educational institutions founded by the British. True, it was a mistake considering the changed circumstances but an understandable mistake. Fortunately for the Muslims a far-seeing man fired with missionary zeal and courage arose among them. Syed Ahmad

Khan made a heroic bid to rescue the Muslims from their state of frustration and apathy. The college that he founded was more than an educational effort ; it was an attempt to enable the Muslims to find their feet in the rapidly changing scene and ultimately to be masters of their own destiny. If it had not been for the timely and herculean efforts of Syed Ahmad Khan one shudders to think of the fate that would have overtaken the Muslims in the Sub-continent. Aligarh did not merely instruct and educate. It imparted a stamp and a hall-mark to its alumni and inspired them with a spirit and zeal to work for the resuscitation of the Muslims as a cultural and political unit. Aligarh proved a boon to many Muslim families who found in it a vitalising institution to which they could safely send their sons for a liberal education which combined Islamic and national upbringing with Western learning. The whole history of the Muslim struggle for the freedom in the Sub-continent shows that but for Aligarh the prospect would have been dark. I have referred at some length to the historic role of Aligarh, for it played a decisive part in shaping the outlook and character of the man which forms the subject of this article.

Liaquat Ali Khan's father, though a Nawab of the old school of thought, was a broad-minded gentleman alive to the needs of the changing times. Realising the value of the education imparted at Aligarh he sent his son to the M. A. O. Collegiate School in 1909. I have an old College Calendar published by Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad in 1911 which mentions Liaquat Ali Khan as a student of class VI, Monitor of his class, and Captain of the cricket team of his hostel, English House. He also figures as the top boy in his class. In fact, he got a double promotion in one year. Once while we were on a visit to East Pakistan I mentioned these facts about his early scholastic attainments in the presence of the East Pakistan Governor, Malik Feroze Khan Noon. He was evidently pleased and jocularly remarked that I should preserve the calendar so that I might be able to give the lie to anyone who said that he (Liaquat Ali Khan) was a 'dud'.

As a student of the Collegiate School he lived in English House. But when he went up to the College he lived in a privately-rented

bungalow under the care of a tutor. Two of his most intimate friends of those days, Shah Nazar Husain and Syed Ahmad Ashraf, tell us that Liaquat Ali Khan was a very quiet, well-behaved, hard-working student of a rather retiring disposition. His circle of friends was not wide but those whom he befriended had his warm regard and steadfast loyalty. He showed signs of deep and balanced thinking, sane outlook and understanding sympathy for fellowmen from his early boyhood. He was in Aligarh from 1909 to 1919. This whole period was remarkable for phenomenal social and political developments in the Indo Pakistan Sub-continent, including the Muslims. It embraced such important events as the Aligarh University movement, the Hindu-Muslim Pact of Lucknow, the Balkan War and the great part played by Aligarh students in helping Turkey, the Great War and the Home Rule Agitation, the dismemberment of the Turkish Empire and the beginnings of the Khilafat and the Non-Co-operation movements. Aligarh being a self-contained residential institution of unique variety was the nerve-centre not only of Muslim India but, of politically-conscious India, for if any group of students as a class took part in the freedom struggle at every stage it was the Aligarh students. Naturally, then, Liaquat Ali Khan lived and studied in an atmosphere so rich in intellectual vigour, political awakening and national outlook and a deep zest for national service. The germs of independence of charactor, self-confidence, integrity and incorruptibility, abhorrence towards acquisition of money and position through degrading and dubious means were already there in him ; they fructified into strong and enduring traits of character in the bracing atmosphere of Aligarh education.

It is now an open secret that after graduation Liaquat Ali Khan was offered nomination to the Indian Civil Service (I.C.S.) as there was no higher position to which educated Indians aspired in those days. But he declined it and preferred to proceed to Oxford for higher studies. This incident was the first manifestation of that unquenchable love for national service and spirit of self-abnegation which was to play such an important part in the destinies of Muslim India and to bring him ultimately the immortal glory of a martyr.

Liaquat Ali Khan's effective political career begins in 1924 when after his return from England he joined the Muslim League. It redounds to his credit that he never joined any other party and remained a member of the Muslim League till the last day of his life. Not many politicians of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent could boast of such consistency in political life. It did not matter to him whether he held a position of prominence and authority or not. He had a set of principles to which he adhered irrespective of the ups and downs in the political arena. His main ideal in political life from which he never swerved by a hair's breadth was to work for the achievement of a broad-based freedom for the people of the Sub-Continent in which the Muslims would have their equal share as a distinct social, cultural and political entity. He was never attracted by clap-trap, tub-thumping, stunt-mongering and emotional outbursts. He was not given to making a display of political or religious virtues or indulging in vituperation and invective, bombast and empty verbiage. Praise and blame left him equally unmoved. Entering the Legislative Council of the United Provinces in 1926 he soon made his mark as an intelligent and effective debater who understood the intricacies of legislative procedure and business and the real problems of people's welfare. The period of 1926-35 saw many a patriot and firebrand turning a somersault and succumbing to the baits of office, title and other forms of preferment under the Montford Reforms. But not so with Liaquat Ali Khan. He was made of a different mettle. Once in a reminiscent mood at the luncheon table at Lahore he himself related an interesting anecdote relating to the various forms of subtle pressure that were exerted on members of the Legislative Council to obtain their votes. He used to lead a small group of independent members in the U. P. Legislative Council whose votes often decided the issue between the Government benches and the Opposition. A member belonging to C. Y. Chintamani's Nationlist Party had violated the mandate of his party and accepted office in the Executive Council of the Governor. A resolution was coming up to censure the conduct of the offending member. The Swaraj Party had joined hands but were still not sure of a majority. Liaquat Ali Khan had arrived in Naini Tal on the very day the motion

was to be debated. Immediately on arrival he received an invitation to lunch at the Government House. When he went to attend the morning sitting of the Council he was waylaid by members of the Swaraj and Nationalist Parties who implored him not to go to the Government House as they feared he would be prevented from voting with them. Liaquat Ali Khan dismissed the suggestion with the confidence and dignity of a man who was sure of his mind and his character to do the right thing regardless of any extraneous influence. He went to the Government House and had lunch with the Governor. In the course of conversation the motion of censure also came up for discussion, though, to be fair to the Governor, he did not ask Liaquat Ali Khan to vote one way or the other. Liaquat Ali Khan frankly told the Governor that in his view the breaking of one's pledges to the party was a serious political offence and, as it was the declared policy of the British to introduce and develop democratic institution in India, they should not encourage such indiscipline among the legislators. Returning from the Government House he took part in the debate on the censure motion and voted along with his small band of followers in his favour with the result that it was carried amid acclamation. The Swarajists and the Nationalists were jubilant. They embraced him out of joy and gratitude and told him that he had saved their honour. His reply was characteristic. He told them that he had not voted to please or oblige them ; he had voted out of conviction in support of a right cause.

There was a similar incident on the occasion of the visit of the Statutory Commission headed by Sir John Simon. The U. P. Legislative Council debated a motion of non-co-operation with the Commission. The House was almost equally divided. Every vote was hotly canvassed. Liaquat Ali Khan again held the balance. He was sought after both by the Treasury Benches and the Opposition. He made a speech in favour of the boycott of the Commission which would go down as a master-piece of brilliant parliamentary oratory. Voting was very close ; the motion was carried by 56 votes to 55. The result sent a thrill of joy in Nationalist circles and the Maharajah of Mahmudabad,

a staunch Muslim patriot, overcome by emotion, embraced and kissed Liaquat Ali Khan.

All these incidents go to show that Liaquat Ali Khan had a sound grooming in political and parliamentary life and, as he himself said he went "throughout the mill". He did not make an office in any political organisation or government the objective of his career. In other words he was no careerist. During the period of the working of Montford Reforms lesser men easily got preferments and offices. Liaquat Ali Khan could have got it for the asking. But God had marked him out for higher service. No wonder he attracted the notice of the Quaid-i-Azam. The Muslim leadership in the thirties had become notorious for their careerism and inconsistency. The majority of them made themselves comfortable either in the bureaucratic camp or the Congress camp whichever came handy. They had no guts, no independent character and outlook of their own. The Quaid-i-Azam on taking up the cudgels on behalf of Muslim India in 1935 suffered disappointment after disappointment in the case of most of the Muslim leaders. A lesser man would have given up the task as hopeless. The Quaid-i-Azam persisted with superhuman strength of will. God did not want to disappoint him altogether. In Liaquat Ali Khan the Quaid-i-Azam found a man who could safely be relied upon for the pursuit of the great task of reorganization of the Muslim League and the launching of the Muslim freedom struggle. He found in him a loyal and worthy lieutenant who understood his leaders's mind and who would not be deflected by any temptation, threat or cajolery. His balanced mind and cool-headedness became proverbial in Muslim public life. Calm, unruffled, and deeply reflective, Liaquat Ali Khan had a knack of working steadily without any sign of excitement or ostentation and putting ideas and schemes into practice with the sure touch of a genius. At first sight he did not give the impression of being an exceptionally intelligent man. But his intelligence had a rapier-like edge and it came into play whenever he was confronted with a knotty problem or a difficult opponent. He would never give an opinion off-hand. He would consider every matter, every problem in all its bearings and then arrive at a conclusion. His

self-detachment was evident in his mode of thinking, working and dealing with all manner of men with whom he came in contact in his public life. He was a very patient listener. Nothing could ever perturb his placid equanimity. Only once in private conversation did I find him warming up and that too related to an incident which concerned his beloved leader, the Quaid-i-Azam. One of the front-rank Muslim leaders who proved to be a turn-coat had cast an aspersion on the integrity of the Quaid-i-Azam. A friend and I happened to mention it to Liaquat Ali Khan. He could not control himself, was annoyed and strongly condemned that leader's remarks. The warmth of his tone really bespoke the great love he bore for his leader.

All these qualities were of great use in the task of organization of a political movement on sound and enduring basis. They were put to exacting use by the Quaid-i-Azam. None was happier than the Quaid-i-Azam himself when Liaquat Ali Khan came up to the test. The Muslims had started many movements and many parties since 1906, the year in which the Muslim League was founded and Muslims began to take part in politics openly. But all these movements had foundered or fizzled out due to the ambition and lack of balance and steadiness in leaders or the mere whipping up of passions and emotions of the masses without any attempt to harness their energies and inculcate discipline. The inspiring and sagacious leadership of the Quaid-i-Azam and the quiet and unremitting efforts of Liaquat Ali Khan saved the Muslims from many pitfalls and led them on the path of steady and constructive achievement.

The period of his Secretaryship of the All-India Muslim League (1936-47) is an eloquent testimony to his great gifts of initiative, resourcefulness, organisation and constructive endeavour. The League in the beginning of his period had very meagre resources. Liaquat Ali Khan did not have the assistance even of a stenographer or a typist. I saw answering shoals of letters in his own hand. When "Dawn" was started as a weekly he as its Managing Director used to take bundles of the paper in his own car to the Parcel Office at the Railway station. When he went on organizational tours one could see him standing

before the Booking Office and purchasing his ticket. Those were war days and there was terrific rush in the trains. Travelling even in second class was no comfort and Liaquat Ali Khan travelled in the second. There are very few people today who know what difficulties and rebuffs the leaders and workers of the Muslim League had to face in the early days. The Congress had captured power in the provinces and was using all its power and authority to enmesh and encircle the Musalmans who were the only people who had so far stood, outside the pale of the Congress. Many among the Muslim intelligentsia, though not the masses, had fallen a prey to the blandishments of Congress propagandists. The Muslim League leaders had a tough time trying to convince the Muslim intelligentsia that the professions and high-sounding claims of the Congress were a mirage to bamboozle and entrap the minorities, especially the Muslims. There was a time when even in a Muslim institution like Aligarh the comings and goings of Liaquat Ali Khan went almost unnoticed. Often I happened to be the only person to receive him at the Station when he came to attend a meeting of the Executive Council or the Court of the University and to see him off when he went back. But as I have said, he was not daunted by any adversity. The way he worked showed as if he were affected by a mania, but it was a mania which transcended all considerations of material gain or loss. His patience was inexhaustible and he had a rare knack of concentrating on essentials and eschewing all trivialities which tended to divide and fritter away energies. I confess that like many other workers I was attracted to the Muslim League soon after finishing my academic career, by the compelling charm and the inspiring example of two personalities—the Quaid-i-Azam and Liaquat Ali Khan. No one today can really estimate the magnitude of the burden he bore and the contribution he made, next to the Quaid-i-Azam to the building up of the Muslim League as a virile mass organisation capable of giving a fight to two powerful adversaries. The Quaid-i-Azam realised and appreciated the value of Liaquat Ali Khan's work from the early stage of the League's reorganisation. At the Patna session of the Muslim League in 1938 the Quaid-i-Azam complimenting Liaquat Ali Khan on his unanimous re-election as

Secretary remarked that he was the greatest asset that the Musalmans of India possessed and he (the Quaid-i-Azam) had found it possible to work with him with the greatest pleasure and harmony. Again at Karachi in 1943 on a similar occasion the Quaid-i-Azam referred to Liaquat Ali Khan as his right-hand man and remarked that he carried a great burden and worked day and night and though a Nawabzada he was a thorough proletarian. It must be remembered that the Quaid-i-Azam was not the kind of man given to complimenting people easily. A compliment from him was a thing to be proud of. No wonder that on Quaid-i-Azam's demise Liaquat Ali Khan declared that his most cherished possession in life was the trust that the Quaid-i-Azam reposed in him.

Let us have a glimpse of Liaquat Ali Khan as a speaker. Many would be surprised to know that in his School and College days he never took part in debates. Once addressing a meeting in the University Union Hall he jocularly remarked that as a student he used to sit on the last bench and never dared to clamber up the dais. However, he began as a speaker in the U. P. Legislative Council and soon mastered the art of parliamentary speaking. A medium-sized, well-built and immaculately dressed man with a voice rich in timbre and deep in volume, he would invariably grip the attention of the members of the Legislature. He opened slowly but soon got into the stride though he never went too fast. The most attractive features of his speech were chaste language, measured expression and elegant intonation. The cadence and periods of his sentences were almost musical and his phraseology was eloquent and almost mathematical in its precision. His mastery of the English language was a surprise to many whose mother-tongue is English. But unlike many perverted Pakistanis who take pride in speaking English with a borrowed drawl and proclaiming their ignorance of the mother-tongue, Liaquat Ali Khan always retained his fondness for pride in his mother-tongue, Urdu. I can say from personal knowledge that at home he generally spoke Urdu. Till 1936 he had not been used to making public speeches in Urdu. But with the new phase in the League's history he began to speak in Urdu also. It involved no effort to him. His early school-

ing in classical languages stood him in good stead. As Secretary of the Muslim League he often had to go on tours and address big public meetings and conferences. Later as Prime Minister he had to address even bigger gatherings. I never saw him at a loss for a word or phrase. True, he did not have the grand manner of an orator or the vigorous style of an agitator. He spoke with confidence, firmness and the sweet reasonableness of a man who was sure of his ground. His marshalling of facts and arguments was effective. The ring of sincerity and the depth of feeling touched a responsive chord in the hearts of the audience. He always had his hand on the pulse of the audience and he seldom failed to gauge their temper, mood and feeling. His closely reasoned style of expression never failed to carry conviction with the audience. Above all, he had the courage of his conviction and never flinched from any hostile atmosphere. I will relate just one incident of which I was an eye-witness. In October 1950, after his election as President of the Muslim League he addressed a vast gathering at the University grounds in Lahore. A split had occurred in the Punjab Muslim League and there was acute political tension. Some hooligans attempted to create disturbance in the meeting and disregarding all bounds of public morality hurled abusive epithets at Liaquat Ali Khan. He firmly stood his ground and did not yield to this exhibition of vulgarity. When order had been restored he made one of the most forceful speeches of his career and exposed the false pretensions of the detractors of the Muslim League. In the same city of Lahore a year later he addressed one of the biggest rallies ever held —five lakhs strong and was heard with rapt attention. He was heard to remark later that neither the hostile demonstration of last year nor the applause of this year affected his balance, for he believed only in doing his duty.

A word about his election tour of the Punjab which I think, ranks among his crowning achievements. He visited all districts of the province except one—Dera Ghazi Khan. He addressed meetings at the rate of three to five per day. It was a feat of physical endurance too, when you remember that he constantly travelled for days on end,

he received any number of visitors wherever the train halted and he had to go over the same ground in every one of his speeches. He was always keen to hear of the public reactions to his speeches. I will relate one incident. At the end of a hectic day at Sialkot I had almost dozed off to sleep in my compartment when the Prime Minister's Jamadar knocked at the door. He told me that the Prime Minister wished to see me but added that he had instructions not to awaken me if I had gone to sleep. I said I was not asleep and I immediately went up to his saloon. It was about 10 p. m. and he had not yet turned in. He again asked me if I had gone to sleep. How considerate he was to those who worked for him! Then he asked me about that day's meeting and his speech. It had been one of the two biggest meetings addressed by him in the course of the tour and the speech he made on this occasion was in my judgement the best of the whole series. He had replied in this speech to criticisms regarding the foreign policy of the Pakistan Government. I had made a practice of taking a seat anywhere among the audience and moving about incognito among the people in the locality visited by the Prime Minister. This enabled me to sense the public opinion. I gave him my view of the impression his speech had produced on the public mind.

I would recall one other speech of Liaquat Ali Khan which was undoubtedly his greatest utterance in the years preceding partition. The first Simla Conference called by Lord Wavell was over. It was followed by an announcement regarding the holding of general elections in India. Responding to our invitation as he did every year, he came to address a meeting under the auspices of the University Area Muslim League. The Strachey Hall was packed to suffocation and hundreds of students stood outside listening into the loud-speaker. It fell to my lot to preside at this meeting in the absence of our President, Professor Abdus Sattar Kheiri who had died only a few days earlier and whom Liaquat Ali Khan described as a great lover and soldier of Islam. Liaquat Ali Khan was in his best form. For an hour and a half he held the Aligarh youth spell-bound. I still remember what he said with reference to the respective roles of the Congress and the Muslim League at the Simla Conference. Adapting an English proverb for the purpose

he said, "Those who had gone to Simla to scoff stayed to pray and those about whom it was said that they had gone to pray came out scoffing". The frustration of the Congress game to establish their supremacy at the Centre was one of the major political triumphs of the Quaid-i-Azam. Liaquat Ali Khan also dwelt on the historic importance of the elections and referred to them as the battle of Muslim national freedom.

His appeal had an electric effect on the youthful audience and they plunged themselves headlong into the election campaign. The part they played would be written in letters of gold in the history of the freedom struggle of the Muslims.

Jamiluddin Ahmad

THE PROBLEMS THAT LIAQUAT FACED

A considerable section of the intelligentsia in residual India is of the opinion that they stumbled upon freedom as a result of the rankest of flukes; they had done precious little to drive the alien exploiters away. Mr. Hare Krishna Mehtab, Minister for Industries in the Government of India, some time in June, 1950, made an interesting statement at Bombay. He said that the claim of his recent colleagues for "sacrifices" and "martyrdom" in the cause of the country, was all nonsense. He added that the number of those who had taken an active part in the anti-imperialists compaign never exceeded a lakh. He was talking of a country, whose population exceeded 350 million. And the number of those who some time or the other found themselves in jail, was even less than a lakh. No wonder, the ex-Chief Minister of Orissa, was of the opinion that "India got its freedom cheap. She had not made adequate sacrifices".

Around early August, 1942, following the arrest of some of their outstanding leaders, many Congressmen no doubt, indulged in a little pyrotechnic, at a few places in India. But the stunt was too sporadic to need more than a local prophylactic cure. It might be interesting to note here that the Mahasabha—Indian Hindu's sister organisation—deemed discretion the better part of valour. It hastily, and no less loyally, announced its determination to back the Britons in "the peril confronting" them. So much for "Quit India" campaigners. The Muslim League, alive to the limitations of its flock, avoided both the fireworks of the Congress and flunkeyism of the Mahasabha. It played a dignified, objective and realistic role. It said "Divide you must, to quit if you have". Later events justified its stand.

The protoganists of the above mentioned viewpoint believe that the liberation of residual India and Pakistan is largely the by-product of the first and second World Wars. They argue that had not Kaiserite

Germany fought so tenaciously from 1914 to 1918, the closely-knit all-powerful British Empire would not have degenerated into the loosely-federated British Commonwealth of Nation; and India would not have got Provincial autonomy. Similarly, in between 1939-1945 Hitlerite Germany bled Britain so white as to incapacitate her to hang on to her far-flung possessions. That the above thesis contains a lot of truth cannot be gainsaid. All the same, there need be no suggestion to minimise the services rendered by the Quaid-i-Azam in securing us Pakistan; and the historic role 100 million Muslims of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent played in salvaging a portion out of their 1,000 year old patrimony. Compared to the Akhandists, they had to contend with two-pronged hurdles—the pugnacity of the Britons and the hostility of the Hindus.

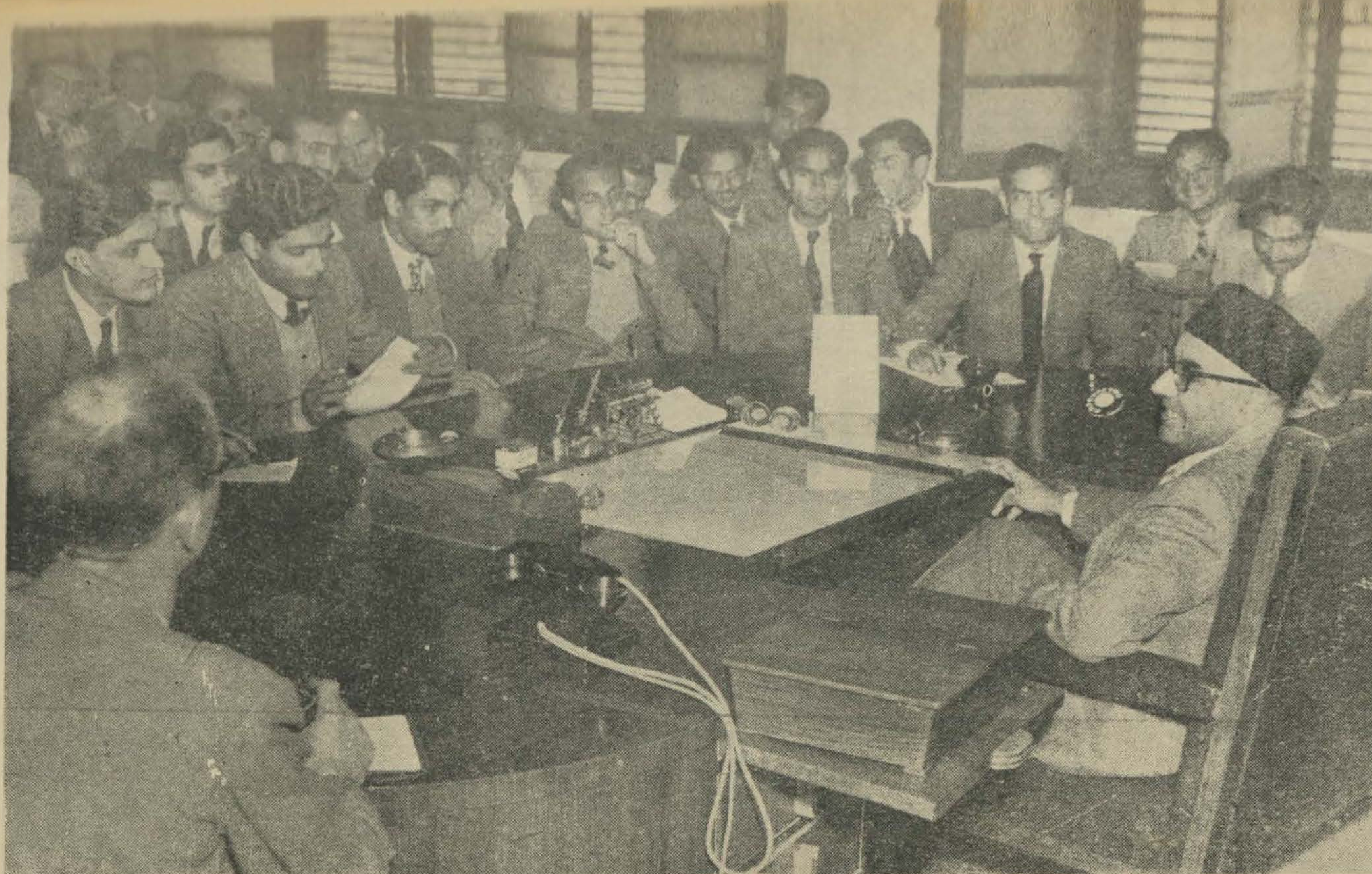
'Sacrifice for the League' is the refrain, amongst the Muhajir circles in Karachi and elsewhere in Pakistan. Tired of hearing it thousands of time, an outstanding League leader, once retorted, "Nothing was further from truth. Barring the Biharis, the Indian Muslims underwent none-too-much sufferings for Pakistan. The slaughter in East Punjab and elsewhere came later, and so did the largescale confiscation of Muslim property. They would have come, all the same, with or without Pakistan. The creation of Pakistan merely accelerated the pace of Muslim-baiting". As a contrast to our country, Indonesia and Burma waged a protracted war for years in order to win their freedom. In the bargain, they suffered casualties, which ran into six figures.

Whether the ship of Pakistan reached the port with ease or otherwise is relevant only remotely, as far as the purpose of this story is concerned. The fact, however, remains whatever the weather, the purple-born, Oxford-educated and soft-spoken captain was ever in the wheel, skilfully piloting his rickety charge, through the shark-infested waters of the Indian seas. Liaquat Ali Khan, a member of the Muslim League from 1923, Honorary General Secretary of the All-India Muslim League from 1936 till he became the first Prime Minister of Pakistan, has been compared to Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln. There may be stray similarities between the 3rd and 16th Presidents of the U.S.A. on one side and the builder of Pakistan on the other. Jefferson

authored the Declaration of American Independence, Statute of Virginia for Religious Freedom, defeated the treaties, which threatened to award U.S. territories to France and Spain. Liaquat fathered the Objectives Resolution, Statute of the Rights of Minorities and put his foot down at all defeatist deals in Kashmir. Both have a definite turn to popular, as against aristocratic, democracy. Lincoln welded the south with the north and made U.S.A. a coherent entity. He was shot at a Washington theatre, by an actor, who was done to death by an Army Sergeant. The similarity between the two Builders ends here.

The problems, which faced Liaquat Ali Khan on August 14, 1947, at Karachi were such as few statesmen were ever called upon to tackle. Nehru had inherited a running Government, a well-oiled machinery and a seasoned staff. Liaquat had precious little, not even buildings to house his Government. Jefferson had 12 and Lincoln 72 years of ordered Government to draw upon. Not so Liaquat. He had to start literally from the very scratch. His "hat-trick", in any circumstance, would have entitled him to be called "a world statesman" as the University of Kansas styled him. But if the conditions obtaining at the time, in the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent are taken into consideration, he would be rated still higher. A brilliant British jurist once made an apt statement. Sir Douglas Young was Judge of the Allahabad High Court. Later, he became Chief Justice of the Lahore High Court. In one of his judgements he had observed: "The troubles of an Indian litigant begins after he gets a degree".

The real troubles of Pakistan began after it came into physical existence. Their volume and variety it will not be easy to appraise. Punjab is the backbone of Pakistan. Large-scale slaughter of Muslims had begun in East Punjab even before August 15. Millions of refugees started pouring into West Punjab. In the five months between August 14, 1947 and January 15, 1948, seven million refugees reached Pakistan. The world had seldom witnessed such a terrible transfer of population and on such a gigantic scale. From the late Government of India's joint account, the Pakistan Government originally got 200 million rupees. Its next instalment of 550 million was over-due from Delhi. Meanwhile, its cash balances were reduced



Liaquat Ali Khan addressing a Press Conference in Karachi on Jan. 22, 1951.

to ten million rupees. A time had come when they were not sure whether they will disburse the salaries of their employees in time or not. Muslim banks were conspicuous by their absence. Most of the Hindu banks had bolted to India, with all their movable assets. So had non-Muslim bankers, financiers and businessmen. Commerce is the life-blood of a nation. It had come to standstill in Pakistan, around, late 1947. The stress of the refugee problem was sweeping enough to drag down a less resilient nation. In case it survived that calamity, another punch was prepared in the shape of economic chaos.

Muslim representation in the late All India services should have been at least 25 per cent. Around mid-1947, it was found to be less than 11 per cent. Thus a woeful shortage of officers was another headache to contend with. Our staff and records from Delhi were attacked on the way. Top of that, trains bringing in our officers and staff were severely molested and put to death. Thereby we lost experienced staff and valuable records particularly of the Defence Department. Talking of that, Pakistan had no doubt got one-third of the defence forces and stores, but merely on paper. Most of the exclusive Muslim units were in Indonesia, Malaya and other places away from the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent. But pure Sikh and Hindu regiments were both in India and Pakistan, and a purely Muslim regiment was nowhere. Such regiments as were preponderantly Muslim, had one or two Sikh or Dogra battalions tacked on to them. How the large body of non-Muslim forces, located for the time being, in Pakistan, would react was a matter of concern to the Government of Pakistan. Sardar Baldev Singh was Defence member in the Interim Government of India. It looks, he had served his Hindu masters with care and foresight. As mentioned above, amongst the equipment and stores of the Defence Department of the late Government of India, one-third should have come to Pakistan. They were worth millions of pounds. In the beginning, a little came in trickles. Later, that too ceased. How serious a threat these early measures were to the existence of Pakistan would be evidenced by the fact that during these critical two months of September and October, 1947, Liaquat Ali Khan had left

Karachi and settled himself at Lahore, trying to-soft pedal the impact of India's varied moves against Pakistan.

But when India's Akhandists realised that these measures failed to disrupt Pakistan, within 45 days of its inauguration, they hit upon less camouflaged plans. Since August 14, 1947, the Kashmir state was under an interim arrangement with the Dominion of Pakistan. About the closing days of October, 1947, the Government of India sent the Secretary of its States Department, Mr. Menon, to Srinagar. The result was a letter to Lord Mountbatten, supposed to be written by the Maharajah, followed by telegraphic acceptance of 'accession' and pouring of air-borne Indian troops into Kashmir. The rest of the drama, designed to envelope Pakistan from three sides, is a world story. Junagadh, a wealthy prosperous state, 3,337 sq. miles in area, over six lakhs in population, and one crore in revenue, had riparian contiguity with Pakistan. It had acceded to this Dominion as early as August 15, 1947. Within two months and three weeks of the said accession, Indian troops moved in. After a few days of communicational blockade, actual invasion started on November 5, 1947. The whole state was overrun by November 9, 1947, and let loose to loot, slaughter and fire for days. Eight months after, India was again on war-path. This time the blow fell on Kashmir. But Liaquat had made preparations meanwhile. Repeated Indian offensive of July, October and November, 1948, were crushed. Junagadh was not repeated.

Pakistan survived all these knock-out blows of India. Not only that, three years after when around mid-July, 1951, India concentrated 90 per cent of its armour within striking distance of Pakistan's borders, Liaquat Ali Khan too moved in his forces. And the world learnt that Pakistan of 1951 was not the Pakistan of 1947.

Winston Churchill, paying a striking tribute to the R. A. F. had said "Never so many owed so much to so few". History would give a higher place to the lasting services which the builder and first Prime Minister of Pakistan rendered to world peace, at a critical moment in its history. The U. S. Press merely emphasised the obvious

when it hailed him as the greatest individual force for peace in war-torn world. In 1950 at Karachi I ran into a German friend, whom I knew before the War. I asked him, "Why did not you come here earlier". He said : "We in Europe had not given Pakistan more than two years. We are so sorry. We had reckoned without your Prime Minister."

Hasan Mohiuddin Abbasi

THE ILLUSTRIOUS SON OF THE MILLAT

The Nineteenth Century was fast approaching its dead end, with only five more years to go when at a tiny place known as Karnal, a huge house glittered with light and bloomed like a flower. A pleasant smile signifying pleasure and pride played on the lips of Rukun-ud-Daula Shamsher Jang Nawab Rustum Ali Khan when he looked for the first time at his newly born son.

He took him in his arms, looked at him with paternal affection and tears of gratitude and thankfulness to the Almighty trickled from his eyes. The maid-servant said, " Bare Nawab, he has inherited all your features". The child was named Liaquat Ali Khan. Little did the Nawab know that this tiny little piece of flesh will grow into a personality that will bring more glory to him than his ancestors who were a part of the nobility in the Courts of the Moghuls. Little did he know, either, that his son was born under the influence of a star which would bring him distinguished fame and honour, and would then snatch him from his people at the peak of his career in a very gruesome manner.

The affectionate hand of the mother kept the cradle moving till one day her son pulled himself out of it and rolled on the floor. And then he walked and tumbled and ran around the room from father to mother, from mother to father.

He was not a difficult child. He was not irritably naughty either. But there was one thing around him, if he once decided to get a silk *sherwani* or a pair of new shoes, he would always get it no matter what happened.

He used to run around the house with a procession of boys behind him. He used to sit in the lawns, as the leader and ordering things around. " Since you have slapped your little sister you must apologise or else I will order my MEN not to talk to you".

He was very fond of music. He had a good voice and was quite conscious of it. During the thick darkness of the night or when alone he used to sing and play musical instruments. His interest in classical music grew more and more and his father employed some musicians to quench the thirst of his child.

The next part of his life was spent in the M. A. O. College, Aligarh which later turned into the Muslim University of Aligarh. This crucible of Muslim culture which was the outcome of Sir Syed's far-sight played a major role in the movement for Muslim awakening, in the getting together of a mass of unorganised and illiterate people and in strengthening the unsuppressible desire for the revival of Islam.

The sober and valiant patriot, who was brought up in a religious atmosphere, dressed himself in *sherwani* and *pyjamas* and walked around the college as one of the prominent students, smoking 'Craven A' cigarettes. He talked about art, literature and philosophy and was an ardent admirer of Iqbal, the poet-philosopher of our nation, the dreamer of the new State of Pakistan.

After graduation he went to England in 1919. He joined the Exeter College, Oxford, and was noticed there as a sharp Muslim Indian, who in private functions played the drum in a sham orchestra and crooned in a booming voice. He took his degree in 1921. Later he completed his term at the Inner Temple and was called to the Bar in 1922.

Throughout his stay in Britain he was never mentioned as a revolutionary or even an emotional type. He never turned a pleasant function into a melancholy affair, in spite of the fact that the British wilfully hampered the independence movement in India in a very ruthless manner. He never used the Hyde Park political platform to insinuate the British ; partly, because he had his own politics which centred round the word 'peace'; and partly, because he was not an exhibitionist, he did not live on publicity. To him, everything was to be done in a peaceful manner, including the struggle for independence. He had noble aims and nobler ways to attain them.

When he came back from London fully grown up and in western dress, Nawab Rustum Ali Khan held him in his arms and the same pleasant smile signifying pleasure and pride played on his lips. His mother, as simple and as modest as ever, clung him round her body and shed tears of joy.

Liaquat Ali Khan had come back from London as a different person. He would keep alone, sitting in his study or walking on the lawns in a very thoughtful manner. He had not yet decided what he would do. Nawab Rustum Ali Khan thought that his worthy son would perhaps join Government service and one day reach the highest ladder. So did Begum Rustum Ali Khan.

One night after dinner, his mother asked him, " Liaquat, now that you have had the best education that you could possibly get, what do you propose to do" ? And added, " Why don't you join the Government Service" ? Liaquat Ali Khan got up from the chair and said, "Mother, don't you think it is noble to serve my own people than a foreign Government. I will join politics. I will serve my people in my humble capacity". And so this full-fledged Barrister never practised in any court of law and preferred to devote his time to social, educational and political activities. He was swayed by the misery of his people and rendered silent service to them without being melodramatic. In 1926, he was elected to the U.P. Legislative Council and he continued to be its member till 1940 when he was elected to the Central Legislative Assembly. He was elected Deputy President of the U.P. Legislative Council and held that office for six years. He was also the Leader of the Democratic Party in the Council.

When the Quaid-i-Azam reorganised the All-India Muslim League, Liaquat Ali Khan was elected its Honorary General Secretary in 1936 but he left this position when he became Prime Minister of Pakistan in 1947. Socn after he came to the Central Legislative Assembly in 1940, and became the Deputy Leader of the Muslim League Party, of which Quaid-i-Azam was the leader.

During the last 10 years of strenuous struggle for the partition of India, Liaquat Ali Khan acted as Quaid-i-Azam's trusted lieutenant

and right-hand and presented a remarkable example of selfless service. The major part of his time was devoted to politics, which meant hard, solid work and not public speaking.

His career as a parliamentarian in the Central Legislative Assembly of India is studded with distinctions. He was a brilliant speaker and one of the best debaters in the House. He was a virtual master of repartee and was capable of coming out with a very witty remark even when in very tight corner.

In 1946 he was appointed a Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council and the Leader of the Muslim League in the Indian Interim Government. He held the portfolio of Finance and was the first Indian Finance Minister. The Budget which he presented was remarkable, for it was acclaimed throughout the country as a "Poor Man's Budget".

He was one of the four Indian Leaders who were invited to London for a Conference with His Majesty's Government in December 1946. On August 15, 1947, he became the first Prime Minister of the new Dominion of Pakistan. Under the guidance of Quaid-i-Azam, he took to his new job with humility and a will to serve his people. He was sincere, honest, incorruptible and possessed great administrative capabilities.

But the Quaid-i-Azam did not live long. After over 70 years of constant struggle he was totally exhausted. He wanted rest, complete rest. But it was too late and in spite of the best medical advice he could not survive. The tragic news of his death put the whole country in a state of coma. " Who would take his place ? " was the question on every lip.

And who could take his place except Liaquat, who had served him for about 14 years, was nearest to him, and was his right hand during all these years. And so he came out and made a whirlwind tour of the entire country, bringing balm to the bruised hearts, peace to the souls shivering in pain.

"Pakistan has come to stay", he repeated the Quaid-i-Azam's words, " and no power on earth can undo it." Wherever he went he was welcomed with loud applause and wherever he went he took his people in confidence. He enjoyed overwhelming popular support and a reputation which after the Quaid-i-Azam only he could claim.

During four years of stress and storm with two hostile and constantly bickering neighbours, India and Afghanistan, on each side and the immense problem of a new country with Kashmir floating in a literal pool of blood, it was only his cool-mindedness, forbearance and constructive genius which attained political and economic stability for the State of Pakistan.

Our relations with India were on such a state of tension where even a slightly careless handling would have culminated in an unprecedented disaster. But that was not his politics. He believed in peace and self-respect and was prepared to go to any limit to preserve them.

And so he did steer the destiny of his country in a very skilful manner, till one day, rather one evening, when he stood up to address a meeting in Rawalpindi his voice was crushed in a very dastardly manner. And the newspapers splashed the story,......

While addressing a public meeting at Rawalpindi in the afternoon of Oct. 16, 1951, the Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan, was shot from close range. He was immediately removed to hospital where a blood transfusion was given. Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, however, succumbed to his injuries.

The assailant's name was Said Akbar, son of Babrek, of Sparkhel Zadran. He was an Afghan national of Khost in Afghanistan......

At 4.10 p.m. Liaquat Ali Khan stood up and moved to the microphone. He had hardly uttered *Bradaran-e-Millat* when the assassin, Said Akbar, fired two quick shots which hit Liaquat Ali Khan,

who swayed and fell. Nawab Siddiq Ali Khan, his Political Secretary, rushed to his aid and cradled the dying Prime Minister in his arms.

Liaquat Ali Khan murmured ; *La ilaha illallah.* Then faintly ; GOLI LAG GAI (I have been shot). Again he murmured ; *La illallah.* Then ; *Khuda Pakistan Ki Hifazat Kare* (May God preserve Pakistan).

Yunus M. Said

THE BUILDER OF PAKISTAN

It happened in Delhi. Sometime in Sepetember 1939, if I am not mistaken, it was the second day of World War II. I was drafting the resolution embodying the Muslim League's policy about the War which was to be brought up before the League Council, on the following day. It was in the presence of the Quaid-i-Azam. He was in a most happy mood that day. Probably he had foreseen the ultimate emergence of freedom out of the evils of the war.

A few days earlier, Lord Linlithgow, the then Viceroy, had defiantly declared that a joint federation for the whole of India was inevitable. By saying so, he wanted, indirectly, to spite Quaid-i-Azam who was regarded as the opponent of the Federal Scheme of 1935 which the Viceroy considered to be his own baby. Therefore, the war may or may not have brought full-fledged freedom, but its intervention had, at least, killed the 'Linlithgow baby'. I attributed the happy mood of the Quaid-i-Azam to this outcome of the War which he had already visualised earlier because of his far-sightedness.

Finding him in that rare mood, I ventured to pose a question directly to him (putting it as politely as I could) : "The Muslim League has now become a truly mighty organisation, but it still revolves around your own personality, there is no second line of leadership yet visible, not even a second man who could hold on (..."after you," —these two words I left unsaid), after all we are now in the midst of world upheaval, anything may happen any moment and to any man."

Without waiting for my speech to be concluded the Quaid-i-Azam moved in his chair, waved his hand in his usual manner, and said :

"The answer? Liaquat, Liaquat, Liaquat, and now go ahead with your drafting".

And how correct that estimate was ? History's verdict today is that whereas the Quaid was the architect of Pakistan, its real builder was Liaquat. Did he not hold on, and hold on firmly and faithfully, till the moment he himself went down ?

Neither before nor after him did this country enjoy the prestige it had during his time. And in the midst of innumerable problems, difficulties and confusion ? To mention only a few : Kashmir, Hyderabad, Junagadh, mass influx of maimed and uprooted refugees, economic difficulties, absence of industries, want of firm friends in the international field, lack of housing accommodation and proper occupation for the millions who had newly moved in, unsettled conditions on the border, growing unfriendly attitude on the part of neighbouring Afghan ruling junta, Indian military menace on the Punjab side, dislocation of East Bengal's agricultural economy owing to boycott of jute by the Indian market, butchery of Muslims in West Bengal, the repercussion of that butchery within East Bengal, corruption and graft in the political and administrative life of the country and so on, and so forth. And yet did his spirit ever give way ? Did he, under these stresses, ever compromise on his principles ? Did he ever capitulate to pressure tactics ? What a mighty demonstration of courage !


Even an advanced country like America could not but feel the weight of his tremendous personality. "We are glad you have found it possible to do us the honour of visiting"......declared the President of the United States. And the President of the Senate said to the members, "Members of the Senate...we are honoured today by a visit from the Prime Minister of Pakistan". and the citation at the Columbia University, which awarded him the degree of Doctor of Laws, said : "Liaquat Ali Khan, administrator and statesman, now Prime Minister of Pakistan ; a graduate of universities in both the East and West, whose youthful study of the law served as a foundation for a career in public life ; whose understanding of the hopes and needs of his fellow citizens soon resulted in his becoming a forceful member of their Legislative Assemblies ; whose ex-

ecutive ability was recognized by the late Mr. Jinnah and put to exacting use ; whose long political career has not only revealed warm sympathy for the under-privileged, but has included a host of practical measures to improve their lot ; and, finally, a man whose ability as a statesman has been tested in his country's struggle for independence among the freedom-loving nations of the world".

Under similar circumstances, this was how, were summed up his achievements at the University of Kansas City : "A plain man withal, your thought has been plain and straightforward, your action direct and unequivocal, your purpose to give an ethical content, befitting plain people everywhere, to the pressing political and economic conditions of our day. True son of the people, your devotion to the ideal of one world for all men has been exemplary. You have inspired confidence in your people at home, in the people of the Far East, and in people throughout the world in the practical ideal of democracy".

I have reproduced these testimonies to show what the Americans thought of him. He was self-confident, strong, suffered from no inferiority complex and boldly expressed his ideas while introducing Islam to them. He was the first Muslim to convey the true message of the Prophet Mohammad on the principles of political philosophy and Islamic democracy : "We give thanks to God that amongst these alarums and excursions, Pakistan stands firm. It stands firm because the Muslims who form the majority of its eighty million people have an ideology of their own which we call the Islamic way of life. This is not a new ideology. It is a body of faith, tradition and belief, which has been a part of man's heritage for over thirteen hundred years. We believe that this ideology when applied to statecraft and the conduct of human affairs is bound to promote welfare. Let me tell you in a few simple and clear words what it is.

"There is first the belief in God and His supreme sovereignty. This does not mean either theocracy or medievalism. We do not believe in priesthood or in the caste system. We consider the first to be unnecessary, for God is as close to one human being as to another. We consider the second to be an abomination, for all men are equal.



Liaquat Ali Khan signing the register on August 14, 1947. The Quaid-i-Azam looks on.

Individual effort and enterprise is the law of life with us as well as the belief that each man or woman is entitled to the fruits of his or her honest endeavour. The pivot of our economic doctrine is the right of private ownership, but our laws and institutions have behind them the aim of reducing inequalities of wealth. We believe in democracy, that is to say the right of people to be governed by their own chosen representatives in social and economic justice and in equal opportunities for all citizens of whatever race or creed they may be. We do not have to present this ideology to our people as a new manifesto. The principles I have stated are part and parcel of Islam and when we say that we want to follow the Islamic way of life what we mean is that we could not possibly do otherwise. These are the principles that were embodied in the concept of Pakistan when we fought for it".

No less glorious than his career was the end of that career. He fell to the bullet of a wicked assassin while he had 'Pakistan' on his lips. I had the privilege of meeting him 24 hours before he fell a martyr. I was then Editor of the "Sind Observer", and there arose a quarrel between me and a certain section of the Press. He felt very unhappy over it. He told me : "If the Press remained divided and the veterans of that world chose to fight among themselves, God help the Pakistani society, whose foremost need today was reconstruction, and reinculcation in its mind of true values of life and true sense of citizenship". He showed an inclination to mediate and bring about reconciliation, but before that could happen, he was, also, no more in this world. He had met with a hero's death on the field, and, on his behalf, it could be confidently said in the words of Joseph Addison : "What a pity it is that we can die but once to save our country."

Pir Ali Mohammad Rashdi

A LIFE OF SELFLESS SERVICE

On the demise of the Quaid-i-Azam, he was succeeded in his office of Governor-General by Khwaja Nazimuddin and that of President of the Constituent Assembly by Maulvi Tamizuddin Khan. The new Governor-General, Khwaja Nazimuddin, assumed the role of a constitutional Head of State and tried to follow the laws, traditions and conventions of the British system of government. Maulvi Tamizuddin Khan following the traditions of the British Speakers dissociated himself from controversial politics and assumed the role of a judge between political parties in power and the Opposition.

The centre of gravity in regard to executive authority shifted from the Governor-General's House to the Prime Minister's House and Quaid-i-Millat Liaquat Ali Khan became all powerful, like the British Prime Minister. Now he was the power behind the throne at Governor-General's House and behind the Chair in the Assembly House. As Prime Minister he controlled the executive, as Leader of the Muslim League Parliamentary Party, which was in an overwhelming majority, he controlled the Constituent Assembly and as Leader of the House he controlled the Legislature. In this position his first concern was to build up democratic traditions in the country and strengthen Parliament which was the source of his authority and power.

An illustration may be given here of the methods through which he tried to enhance the prestige of the Parliament. He invited the Shahenshah of Iran, Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi, to a State visit to Pakistan, and the highlight of that visit was the Shahenshah's address to the Parliament. On that memorable occasion, the Quaid-i-Millat delivered a speech in Urdu from his seat in Parliament welcoming the distinguished guest to which the Shahenshah suitably replied in Persian from the dais, his chair being placed alongside that of the President of the Assembly. The programme of the

Shahenshah included a luncheon in the restaurant of the Assembly House with the Members. The expenses of the entertainment were borne by the Quaid-i- Millat's Government. After the luncheon the Shahenshah mixed freely with the members; and before the luncheon, sitting in the Assembly President's room, he granted audience individually to Party leaders and prominent members of the Assembly.

The Quaid-i-Millat himself had a long and distinguished parliamentary career, first in the Provincial Legislature and later in the Central Legislative Assembly of British India, and knew the value of Parliament as a means of controlling the masses of his countrymen and of enhancing the prestige of his country abroad. He first made his mark as a Member of Government, when he as the Finance Member of the Interim Government of British India just before Partition, had presented a Budget which scared big business and vested interests throughout the Sub-continent. The Budget was designed, in the words of the Finance Member, to reduce "the glaring disparity between the income and standard of life of the wealthy classes and the vast multitude of poverty-stricken masses". The Budget also laid stress on the economic development of the provinces which had so long remained neglected. He argued that the progress of the country as a whole depended upon the economic development of its component parts. This is referred to here to show his mental attitude towards the economic development of Pakistan. He set himself to husband the resources of the new country as he believed that political freedom could not survive unless sustained by economic freedom.

Quaid-i-Millat's Government tried to prevent inflation of currency and kept the price of commodities, particularly of consumer goods, down in Pakistan. There was no appreciable change in taxation to what it was before Independence. The Prime Minister held the view that the Budget should be a surplus one and that it should be balanced by keeping down expenditure and observing measures of austerity rather than tapping fresh sources of taxation. His Government always had a surplus Budget in which the taxes on the common man's requirements were kept as low as possible.

On account of the exodus of Hindu and British Civil and Defence personnel after partition, there were accelerated promotions in the higher cadres. An order was issued restricting increase of salary of all Government servants, in case of promotion, to thirty per cent of the last pay drawn before Independence and in the case of double promotion to the salary of the lower post. The Constitution Act was amended to remove the protection given by the British Parliament to certain classes of higher services in regard to their emoluments. On the other hand, a dearness allowance of seventeen and a half per cent was given to the Government employees in the lower group of income. During the World War several kinds of allowances were given to persons in the lowest rung of government service. These allowances were maintained and in some cases increased so that their total allowances amounted to and in some cases exceeded hundred per cent. of their salary.

When the Quaid-i-Millat had taken up the reins of Government in 1947, Pakistan was facing a difficult situation on account of acute shortage of food. Her surplus foodgrains had been moved before Independence to the deficit areas in British India and the influx of refugees from India meant more mouths to feed. Pakistan was at that time compelled to import considerable quantities of foodgrains. But in two years the situation was completely changed and Pakistan became a surplus area and was in a position to export foodgrains. This was a great achievement for the administration of the Quaid-i-Millat.

In 1950 about 138,522 tons of wheat and rice were exported. From 1949 Pakistan's average surplus of rice was 100,000 tons and of wheat 150,000 tons. Under the Indo-Pakistan Trade Agreement of February, 1951, Pakistan had offered to supply India about 770,000 tons of foodgrains. Under similar agreements made with other countries Pakistan had agreed to supply Ceylon 150,000 tons of rice, to Turkey, Japan and West Germany together 376,500 tons of wheat, and toother foreign countries a total commitment of 282,000 tons of wheat and rice were made.

Foodgrains were exported both on commercial basis and on humanitarian grounds. India was in the grip of floods and was

threatened with famine for there was already an acute shortage of foodgrains. On account of devaluation of the Indian rupee in September, 1949 she was finding difficulty in purchasing her requirements in the hard currency areas. The Prime Minister of India had at the end of 1950 appealed to the U. S. Government for two million tons of foodgrains. While the American Congress was considering the Indian Emergency Food Aid Act through the months of March, April and May, 1951, the situation in India was fast deteriorating. The Quaid-i-Millat, who had once shown his clenched fist to India, at once rushed supplies to save human lives. By the middle of 1951 Pakistan had already dispatched to India 139,000 tons of rice, and about 10,000 tons of wheat ; to Ceylon about 20,000 tons of rice ; to Turkey, Japan and West Germany together about 166,000 tons of wheat.

The Quaid-i-Millat gave special attention to develop agricultural industry for, otherwise, the influx of village population to mill areas would have disrupted village economy and agriculture would have been neglected. With the flight of Hindu capital soon after Independence there were offers of foreign capital for investment in Pakistan, but the Quaid-i-Millat was suspicious of them. The country had become only politically independent. He was eager to make her economically independent as well. Both the Quaids, the Quaid-i-Azam and the Quaid-i-Millat, had realised that political independence could not be maintained for long without economic independence. Their economic and political philosophies were simple. Since the ultimate source of all wealth is land, their first consideration was the development of land as far as possible without encumbering it with mortgages. And because they derived their power from the people, the majority of whom were peasants living in villages, their primary concern was to improve the village economy and to make the peasants' lot easier and happier.

The Quaid-i-Millat was the leader of a political party which had an overwhelming majority in the Assembly and could have passed every legislative measure through Parliament hurriedly. But he deliberately did not take that course, though sometimes he was urged to do so by his impatient followers. He could patiently listen to

scathing criticism of himself and of his administration and watch, at times the obstructive tactics of a small but determined Opposition, and at the end would rise to demolish all the arguments of his opponents by the force of his logic. He was not an orator but a fluent speaker and a good debater both in Urdu and English. He had the parliamentary style of speaking. He had choice of diction, flow of words, and a good marshalling of facts. And often his retorts at interruptions silenced his critics.

The Quaid-i-Millat believed that a vigilant Opposition was conducive to good government and he appreciated the criticism levelled against his government by the members of the Opposition in the Assembly. On several occasions he requested the chair to defer consideration of a bill or of an amendment when the members of the Opposition complained that they did not have sufficient time to examine the implications of the measure that was coming before the House. At times the meeting of the Assembly was adjourned soon after it met on that account.

At that time the Opposition was composed mainly of the Hindu members of the Congress. Their leader Mr. Siris Chandra Chattopadhya, a Hindu lawyer from East Pakistan, was a veteran Congressman and a contemporary of Sardar Vallabhai Patel and Pandit Motilal Nehru. The Quaid-i-Millat recognised him as the leader of the Opposition and gave him all the facilities given to Her Majesty's Opposition in Great Britain. At parliamentary social functions, Mr. Chattopadhya's position was next to that of the Prime Minister and above that of his Ministers.

The Quaid-i-Millat tried to keep a close social and personal contact with all the members of the Parliament irrespective of their party allegiance. During his administration at the end of each session, without fail, he gave a dinner party at his residence, exclusively for members, and officers of the House and mixed with them freely.

The Quaid-i-Millat had a warm personal touch in his dealings with people around him. If during sessions of the Assembly, this

writer (Joint Secretary of the Constituent Assembly at that time) was absent from the meeting even for a day and happened to meet him the following day he would enquire: "Were you ill? How are you today"? This thoughtfulness and small courtesies in the midst of his official preoccupations touched one's heart and made one feel attached to him.

I first had the privilege of coming in personal contact with him on August 9, 1947, the day before the first meeting of the first Constituent Assembly. He was then the Prime Minister-designate of the new country of Pakistan which was to be born a few days later. That day I first met him at an informal meeting which was presided over by the Quaid-i-Azam, and later the same afternoon I was sent for to help him in drafting the resolutions which were to be placed before the Assembly the following day and in drawing up the agenda of the meeting. With him was Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar and the three of us worked on till it was dark. The event clings to my memory because this historic occasion fell on the auspicious day of the 27th of Ramzan. That night the Assembly staff worked till midnight printing the agenda and circulating it to the members.

The Quaid-i-Millat was every inch a gentleman. He bore the stamp of nobility which was apparent from his civility, urbanity and polished manners. Usually people whom the whirlwind of fortune tosses up to a giddy height lose their mental equilibrium and find difficulty in adjusting themselves to the society from which they rise. As a young man, the Quaid-i-Millat perhaps never thought that one day he would guide the destiny of an independent country. When he actually rose to such an eminence he never lost his "balance". He could mix with the kings and still not lose touch with the common man. This rare trait of character is usually found in people of good background who are taught discipline and self-respect from their very childhood. The Quaid-i-Millat came from the noble family of the Nawabs of Karnal in East Punjab.

The Quaid-i-Millat's hobby was to collect rare and fine cigarette lighters of various patterns, some of them were, indeed

very ingeniously made. He remembered where and when each individual piece was acquired by him and felt delighted in showing the mechanism of a cleverly designed one.

With his practical mind and strong common sense, the Quaid-i-Millat could solve national problems, as they arose, admirably well. He felt the pulse of the nation with great wisdom. He voiced public opinion before anybody else could give expression to it. In his famous speech showing the clenched fist, he was only giving expression to public resentment felt at that time against India, apart from what he himself might have personally felt as the Defence Minister, which portfolio he was then holding in addition to that of the Prime Minister.

The Quaid-i-Millat's swagger stick, which he always carried with him, sometimes in his left hand or under his left arm, became famous like the inseparable umbrella of Mr. Neville Chamberlain, the British Prime Minister. When the Quaid-i-Millat came to attend the meetings in Parliament he would deposit his cap and his swagger stick in the lobby room before entering the Chamber. But neither the Quaid-i-Millat's cap nor his swagger stick attracted as much attentionof the cartoonists as did his thick eyeglasses, broad forehead and his bald head, which were prominently depicted.

The Quaid-i-Millat's service to the cause of democracy in this country was like that of Abraham Lincoln in the United States. And like the great exponent of the principle of "Government of the people by the people and for the people" the Quaid-i-Millat also had raised his country's prestige in the comity of nations and in doing so he too fell a victim to an assassin's bullet. And like Abraham Lincoln his memory will ever remain dear to his countrymen.

K. Ali Afzal

HE LIVED AS A MUJAHID

I met him for the first time in Cairo in 1946. He was with Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah. Both had been invited by the then Prime Minister of Egypt, Nokrashi Pasha, to a luncheon at Mohammad Ali Club. How pleased I was to meet and converse with them both.

I had written to the Aligarh University asking for the services of an Urdu Professor for Faud I University, and since the reply had been long-over due, I spoke to Liaquat Ali about it, and he showed interest in the matter. On his return to India I received a communication from Aligrah stating that the Professor was coming.

I met him, the second time, at his house in Delhi in 1947, following my call on the Quaid-i-Azam at his residence. Again I was so happy to meet the two great men.

Even before coming to Pakistan I was following news of this country and acquainting myself with the policy pursued by its leaders. And when Liaquat went to America, and addressed so many important gatherings, including the U. S. Congress, I was full of admiration for the head of a Muslim Government, who enjoyed the respect and veneration of the Western world, and who extolled Islamic culture and institutions wherever he went ; while people these days are fascinated more by Western civilization and less by Islam and Islamic culture, nay, Muslims even fight shy to speak of Islam in Western societies.

When I came to Pakistan as Ambassador of Egypt, I renewed my acquaintance with the great man. I had the pleasure of meeting and talking to him on several occasions. Each time I met and talked to him, my admiration and love for him redoubled.

I would think of the prodigious burdens which he was called upon to bear. I would admire his sagacity in dealing with problems,

his forebearance, his firmness and fortitude, his defiance of hardship, his confidence in himself, in his people and in the people's future.

I would sympathise with the great statesman for the hard labour he was putting in, for the extensive and strenuous hours that he was undertaking, and for the ceaseless and varied engagements he was fulfilling.

I heard his speeches on several occasions. One was the speech he delivered on the occasion of Id-ul-Fitr at the prayer ground. It revealed the man to be an impressive and eloquent speaker, an astute and seasoned politician, a faithful Muslim, a brave nationlist, a man who did not fear or faulter, flinch or stagger. Like his actions his speeches were clear and impressive. I felt his sincerity in every word he uttered and in every call he made, and I said to myself: "Pakistanis were verily right in choosing this man as their leader".

"It was a speech to which my heart and tears responded", said I to those whom I met after listening to his speech of Id-ul-Fitr.

I heard of the tragic news while I was in Hyderabad (Sind), and I do not ever recollect being so deeply touched, so profoundly shaken as I heard of that tragedy. Great men are rare and far between. Time does not produce them as often as humanity would have wished. Though there may be born into this world, people with innate qualities of greatness, yet few live in the environment and face the experiences, hardships and tribulations that build the foundation of their greatness and elevate them to the high position of leadership.

When a man with instinctive greatness is born to a nation and when circumstances and environment are favourable for the development of that instinct and he is thoroughly prepared to take over the reins of leadership, then such a man can be a blessing to the nation. For he would direct their steps on to the proper path, bring them closer together, unite them and lead them to their cherished goal. He may be able to achieve for them in a year what may not be otherwise possible to achieve in scores of

years. His conduct and views may instil into them ideals that would have taken them several years to visualize in spite of their struggle and labour.

It is the misfortune of the world, the bad luck of humanity, that an ignorant, uncultured individual should be able to inflict such a blow on a nation—a blow that deprived the people of that nation of a great leader, that shook them, that destroyed their hopes, that undermined their aspirations and put an end to a career full of glorious struggle and immortal deeds. The miserable wretch did not know what he was doing ; what a crime he was committing against a soul, a family, friends, a nation and history. He did not know that he was removing a man whose guidance and wise leadership were sought in the dark hour of adversity, a man whose enlightenment was most badly required and a genius whose gifts were put to years of trial still they enabled him to assume leadership and enjoy his people's confidence.

While doing his duty, Liaquat responded to the call of God. He went away leaving an account of great deeds, of noble achievements and of brilliant results. His career came to an end as a martyr—and what a great end. Time records that Liaquat was killed while doing his duty. Liaquat lived a Mujahid and died a Shaheed.

As a human being, Liaquat's life came to an end, but as a symbol of a nation his career shall ever live, for it is embodied in his nation as high ideal, ceaseless struggle, firm determination, strong will and unswerving loyalty. All of these shall have even deeper and profounder effect in the centuries to come, than during the short span of Liaquat's life.

Abdul Wahab Azzam Bey

LIAQUAT AS A FRIEND

It was my privilege and good fortune to win the friendship and affection of Liaquat Ali Khan. To me he was not merely a great Prime Minister of a great friendly neighbouring country, but I could also claim to be his friend.

I am not qualified to attempt an estimate of the career of this great man, even if I were not handicapped by diplomatic bonds. I would, therefore, confine myself to recording my own impressions of the builder of Pakistan.

I was fortunate to see Liaquat Ali Khan work through the most difficult times since the birth of Pakistan—though from the diplomatic distance. The way he put himself to the task of welding a new State out of the chaos created by the partition and of setting up an administrative machinery out of almost nothing and then consolidating it into an effective and efficient administration, earned the respect of everybody. It was a colossal work which took every minute of his time and every ounce of his energy. The successful achievement of this was enough to put the seal of fame on Liaquat's role as a nation builder.

Liaquat was endowed by nature with an extraordinary level-headed mind, if I may say so. His self-composure must have been the envy of many statesmen. By meeting and talking to him one could never get even the slightest hint of the stress and strain which characterised his four years of Prime Ministership of Pakistan.

He never allowed national crises to overwhelm him. In the midst of the worst of them, he could still find time to fulfil his social engagements—engagements which were more essential for the welfare of the State than attendance to more serious duties. And in these social engagements he could really relax himself and momentarily turn

his mind off from serious and pressing problems of the country. To be able to do this is indeed a great quality.

As hosts I have come across very few people who could claim superiority over the Prime Minister of Pakistan and Begum Ra'ana Liaquat Ali Khan. Their winsome manners made their parties occasions to be treasured in memories of their guests. Liaquat had the rare knack of making his guests perfectly at home. Even foreigners after a few minutes would become forgetful of being in a new country. I remember one such occasion when the Prime Minister gave a small party in honour of some visiting foreign experts. Within a few minutes all of them paid this handsome compliment to the host. "We do not claim to speak on behalf of every single person of our country. But we can say this much without the slightest fear of contradiction. And this is, Sir, you have won the friendship of seventeen of us for all time to come!" His entertainments were never confined to big people and his guests had always a sprinkling of the humble. He would rather pay more attention to them than to more honoured guests, knowing that the latter would not feel neglected but the former would, if the host was inattentive to them. He took personal interest in his guests and made every one, irrespective of their place in life, go home with a feeling of being an honoured guest.

Liaquat's aristocratic birth and upbringing also stood him well. A real aristocrat, whatever may be his other shortcomings—a perfect gentleman. He was humane and kind. He was sure of himself and had no false notions of prestige and dignity.

That he was an absolute patriot needs no repetition. He not only sacrificed everything that he had in the form of worldly property in India but what is more to be admired was his refusal to salvage it. "My name must be the last on the list" was his policy.

His patriotism was not of the narrow variety. I found in his values of patriotism something refreshing. Of course, it began with Pakistan but it did not end there. It travelled far into inter-

nationalism. He recognised the existence of differing national interests but also firmly believed that these could be adjusted by peaceful understanding of each other's points of view. Adjustment and not domination, he felt, was the cure for the ailing world.

I will always treasure the special regard and consideration he showed me as Ambassador of my country. There were a number of occasions when he even interrupted important meetings to receive me. And I remember no occasion when he turned down my requests. And what was more, he knew how to do it with a grace that would leave a lasting impression.

It is not for me to pass a judgement on his contributions to the building up and consolidation of Pakistan. But Liaquat's greatness was assured by the absolute confidence and trust which the Founder of Pakistan, the Quaid-i-Azam reposed in him. He was Quaid's constant companion and confident. And Quaid had no value for mediocres. The way Liaquat filled the gap created by the untimely death of the Quaid-i-Azam should be enough proof of the man's greatness.

In Ra'ana, Liaquat had the good luck of having an invaluable life companion. They were complementary to each other. Each was a source of strength to the other and it would be only fair to recognise Begum Saheba's contribution to the success of the Prime Minister. Her contribution to the uplift of Pakistani women will go down in history. Hers is no easy task. The task of emancipation of women is no bed of roses in any country. In the East actually it is a bed of thorns. That she is not daunted by opposition only goes to prove her sincerity of purpose and her intense burning desire to see to the success of her mission.

U Pe Kin

ONE OF IRAN'S BEST FRIENDS

My first meeting with Liaquat Ali Khan is unforgettable. With his confident, suave and quiet look, his sweet and eloquent words, his charm and sincerity and his vast knowledge of world problems, Liaquat Ali Khan made a lasting impression on me.

During a year or so of my stay in Pakistan, the more I saw and conversed with him, the more my fondness and respect for his greatness grew. I saw in him the symbol of devotion to Islam and patriotism. His love for his country was profound. All his efforts were directed towards the attainment of the glory of Pakistan and securing the welfare of the nation and safeguarding the honour and independence of the people.

I noted how zealously and untiringly he carried on his responsibilities, how courageously and patiently he faced the nation's problems and how, almost miraculously, and with an iron-will, he solved them. In words and deeds he gave the assurance that he was bent on carrying out his sacred duties towards the country and the nation to the best of his abilities and in his selfless devotion and dedication he even sacrificed his life.

It was he who kept the nation united, a duty entrusted to him by the Quaid-i-Azam and the people of Pakistan. With wisdom and determination he brought together the disintegrated Muslim community of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent and gave shelter to the refugees. Under his guidance Pakistan progressed. His visit to foreign countries helped spread Pakistan's respect and prestige far and wide. He made Pakistan financially and economically strong. In short, he dedicated his life to making Pakistan prosperous and powerful in the comity of nations.

The sad news of his assassination shocked me beyond words. My sorrow was not of a Muslim for the death of another Muslim, nor was it of a man for the loss of a relative. It was rather the deep touching sorrow of one who has lost a dear and near one. It touched my heart so much that while placing a wreath on his last resting-place tears flowed and made it difficult for me to express my sympathies to his bereaved widow.

I had cause for sorrow and tears like my Pakistani brethren because not only had I lost a good friend but my country, Iran, also lost one of her best friends. His visit to Iran and his growing interest in her affairs and his sympathies for the people of Iran had left a deep and abiding impression on them, an impression which will go down in the history of that nation. Liaquat Ali Khan who was a descendant of Nawasherawan the Just, the famous King of Iran, did so much in strengthening the ties of amity and friendship between Iran and Pakistan that it surpassed the limits of sheer political interest. I feel it my duty here to confess that a great portion of the sincere brotherly sentiments of our people must be attributed to his efforts and personal interest he took in the matter. He aimed at ever-increasing good relationship between Iran and Pakistan, so much so that with his demise Iran lost a faithful protagonist, the like of whom she will not find for a long time to come.

The expression of sorrow and grief by the Iranian people and their bereavement for this irreparable loss to Pakistan is known to the Pakistani nation. Throughout Iran soyums were held by the Ulama, Ministers, Deputies, businessmen and the public in memory of the departed leader.

Liaquat Ali Khan is no more but his dear memory will go down in history. As long as the world and Pakistan last the name of Liaquat Ali Khan, Shaheed-i-Millat, Quaid-i-Millat will burn like fire in the hearts of all free and freedom-loving peoples of the world.

M. Masud Moazzid



President General A. M. Yahya Khan (then Battalion Commander) presenting Regimental Crest to the Shahanshah of Iran at a Reception given by the Prime Minister on March 2, 1950. The Quaid-i-Millat is in the Centre.

A CHARMING COMPANION

I first met Liaquat Ali Khan, when we both were members of the old United Provinces Council, but I can hardly say that I knew him then. I got to know him better when he was Deputy Leader of the Muslim League Party in the Legislative Assembly in Delhi. There he was outstanding and, except for his leader who attended only rarely, he was the best speaker in the House. Neither can I remember him ever having made a mistake in tactics.

But Liaquat and I only became friends when he was Prime Minister of Pakistan and I was Governor of West Punjab in the very difficult days immediately after partition. Everything was in confusion and everything had to be improvised. He had to deal with matters of high politics, the Kashmir question, the question of the Tribal areas and of Baluchistan, and a host of new and difficult problems arising from the formation of a new State. I had to deal with the more limited matters of the feeding, housing and settlement of refugees, the re-establishment of trade and business and the supply of the towns. But whatever the complexity of the matters with which he had to deal, and however badly they sometimes seemed to be going, Liaquat was always at hand with advice and practical help in all matters that concerned the welfare of the people, and particularly of the refugees. He knew that a State had to be built from the bottom as well as from the top.

As a companion, Liaquat Ali was charming. He was both witty and sagacious. As a friend, he was absolutely reliable. His death was a blow, not only to his own country, to the Commonwealth and the United Nations, but also an irreparable loss to his many friends.

Sir Frank Mudie

A LOVABLE MAN

I had the privilege of being one of the Quaid-i-Millat's friends. I had known him for over 25 years, and during this period had opportunities of studying him closely. He always impressed me, and all those who came in contact with him, by his clarity of vision, soundness of guiding principles and courage with which he fought for any just cause. At critical moments he inspired in his colleagues fresh confidence and strength of purpose to achieve the seemingly impossible. Those who threw in their lot with him found themselves steadily moving on the right path.

What impressed me most was his devotion to the cause of Pakistan. Whatever discussions I had with him in any official capacity, always turned to Pakistan and how to make it a progressive and truly democratic State. Islam, he maintained, preached equality between man and man and was a guarantee against dictatorship of any kind. " The nearer a country comes to Islam, the happier it becomes".

The Quaid-i-Millat was a broad-minded Muslim, whose vision was not dimmed by false perspectives. He believed in the spirit of Islam and not in those practices, which have brought differences amongst us and retarded our progress.

I first came in contact with the great leader in 1926 when we both were members of the U.P. Legislative Assembly. We came very close to each other, as we thought alike on most matters affecting the interests of our people. He was always firm and courageous in the discharge of his duties as a member of the Assembly. He voted strictly on the merits of a Bill. No influence or pressure could make him change his mind.

Liaquat Ali Khan, though a big landlord at that time, never identified himself with the Zamindar Party in the House. He formed his own party called the Democratic Party. Although he was its founder and real guide, with his usual modesty and large-heartedness, he pressed me to accept the leadership of this party. He was extremely popular and was unanimously elected the Deputy President of the House.

The Quaid-i-Millat loved his people, whose interests and welfare were to him above all presonal considerations. He too, had lost a large property in India, but he never once mentioned this fact. It was suggested to him to exchange a part of his property, when it was permissible. He replied that his turn must come last.

When it was reported to him that his beautiful furniture in his New Delhi house had been damaged by the large number of persons who took shelter there as a result of disturbances, he smiled and said, "I am very happy that my house provided shelter to so many unfortunate families."

The interest of all Muslims, living in any part of the world, was dear to our Quaid-i-Millat. Whenever I came to Karachi for consultations he took special interest in discussing the problems of Indian Muslims. His sympathetic attitude towards Indian problems convinced me of his sincere desire to develop cordial and friendly relations with that country.

The Quaid-i-Millat was a most lovable man. He was respected in all circles. Even his political opponents admired his good nature and charm of manners and expression.

Mohammad Ismail

HE SUCCEEDED LARGELY

I have known Liaquat Ali Khan for a long time. My association with him became all the more intimate since 1936 when he was elected General Secretary of the All India Muslim League. I had an opportunity of working as his colleague in the Interim Government where Liaquat Ali acted as the Muslim League team in the Cabinet. It was his complete loyalty and unqualified devotion to Quaid-i-Azam which won him the unstinted respect of the party. It was a Herculean task to lead the Muslim League team in the Interim Cabinet because there was hardly a question on which the Congress and the League parties saw eye to eye with each other, but Liaquat did not falter for a moment in fearlessly carrying out the policy of his leader and teacher, the Quaid-i-Azam, from whom we all drew our inspiration. His patience, calmness and his capacity for a detached and objective analysis of events won him not only the regard and admiration of the Muslim League but it also compelled respect from the Congress circles which recognised his moving sincerity although they violently differed with him.

The one thing which marked Liaquat as a great leader was his deep and genuine respect for honest difference of opinion and never did he give an opportunity to anybody to indict him for being vindictive to anybody, however, he may differ with him in the political field. In the midst of most violent controversy he would hold his own with a dignity and a calmness characteristic of his personality and never for a moment would he entertain even the remotest idea of hitting his political adversaries below the belt. These qualities stood him in good stead when the mantle of the Father of the Nation fell on his shoulders after his passing away. Liaquat Ali Khan rose to full stature and became the master of the situation much to the envy and surprise of the world, for it was no easy job indeed to have



Quaid-i-Millat Liaquat Ali Khan welcoming the Shahanshah of Iran at the Karachi Airport on March 1, 1950

stepped into the shoes of the Quaid-i-Azam. With his unflinching loyalty to Pakistan, a deep sense of devotion to the people and abundance of confidence in God and in himself, Liaquat succeeded in steering the ship of the State safely away from the turbulent waters, and truly built up on the foundations, laid so well by the Quaid-i-Azam.

Not only that. He succeeded largely in carrying the message of peace, equality and friendship given by Islam to distant corners of the world where he fearlessly proclaimed with the moving spirit of a devoted missionary that Islam alone offered the final and the most effective panacea for the ills of the world which was torn asunder by conflicts and struggles of one class against the other. His stirring speeches on the role of Islam during his tour of America are a monument of his courage of convictions which caught the ears of the Continent for the first time in her history. With his magnetic personality which radiated a charm that comes out of sincerity, Liaquat Ali succeeded in winning the goodwill and respect of the world for the newly-born State of Pakistan. I remember most vividly the few days that he spent in Iran which was the first country to have extended an official invitation to the Prime Minister. Five days is a period too short to produce any results and yet in this short span of time Liaquat left such a deep impression on the people of Iran that every class which came into contact with him, the Shahenshah, the Ulema, the Press and the people, became such enthusiastic admirers of Pakistan that it became for them a symbol for faith, for purity and for progress. The deep impression left by his brief visit to Iran found a spontaneous expression on his death which was mourned on a scale unprecedented in the history of Iran.

Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan

A HAPPY WARRIOR

I first met the Quaid-i-Millat when he was a student at Aligarh during one of my visits to the University. Then he was just introduced to me as a student from a distinguished family with a prosperous future before him. My next meeting was in 1946 at Delhi when he was practically the leader of the Muslim Members of the Legislature. On this occasion we discussed sadly that Aligarh University would, under the partition of India, become in time a more or less secular institution and would lose its essentially Islamic, cultural and religious character.

After that we met in Karachi and in London when he was the Prime Minister of the greatest Muslim State in the World and in fact, if not in name, the political leader of Islam. Naturally we discussed the various problems, not only for Pakistan, but for Islamic people, Muslim States and also those that were semi-independent and that were still under Western domination. Our discussions went into detail and it will all my life be a source of happiness and satisfaction as well as pride that, though we belonged to different generations and our various experiences of life had been different as well as the foundation of the instruction and education, yet we saw eye to eye in practically everything and not only the objects but the methods by which those objects could be achieved.

My poor friend, now a happy Martyr in Paradise, had not been brought up as a diplomat. Yet I came to know from American sources that he impressed the difficult American public and the still more difficult American Press by, not only the sincerity and frankness of his views, but by his profound fairness, justice and practical utility. Once more from American sources I came to know that he won the confidence of the statesmen he met from the President downwards and their respect. The same is true of the British and Commonwealth

statesmen and colleagues that came in contact with him. Everywhere the same opinion. Here is a man, a gentleman, a stateman, but above all a man.

It was his good fortune to have had by his side a consort well worthy of himself, a lady who, like her husband and friends, accepted the dedication of her life to the cause of her co-religionists and co-nationalists.

For the people of Pakistan (Muslim or Hindu, Christian or Parsi) this great leader's life and patriotism, his catholic sympathies and comprehensions I hope and pray would be an example to be followed.

H. H. the Aga Khan III

INTIMATE MEMORIES

My first association with Liaquat Ali Khan was during 1937-38. He was then a member of the panel of non-official advisers assisting me in our negotiations with the U. K. Board of Trade for a trade agreement between India and the United Kindom in substitution of the Ottawa Agreement. It was, I believe, in 1936 that he became Honorary General Secretary of the All-India Muslim League and shortly after he was elected a member of the Indian Legislative Assembly. He thus became the right-hand man of the Quaid-i-Azam not only in organising and directing the activities of the Muslim League, but also in the Assembly. I was then Leader of the House. I remember quite clearly that I was deeply impressed with the very first speech that Liaquat Ali Khan made in the Assembly. I realised that his coming into the Assembly meant a considerable accession of strength to the Muslim League Party. At the conclusion of his speech, I went over to him and felicitated him on it. I am not able to recall what I actually said, but it must have been something more than words of formal appreciation for I felt that it gave him real pleasure.

In 1941 I left the Government to join the Bench of the Federal Court. During the succeeding six years I watched the growing strength and oganisation of the Muslim League and its increasing hold upon the allegiance and devotion of the Muslims of India from the unruffled serenity of the judicial backwater. Both in respect of its speed and extent, it was a marvellous achievement, the entire credit for which was shared between the Quaid-i-Azam and Liaquat Ali Khan.

My most intimate association with Liaquat Ali Khan began when I was summoned, from what I had proposed to myself as a retirement from public affairs, to assume the responsibilities and obligations of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the newly established State of Pakistan, in the creation and building up of which Liaquat

Ali Khan had been destined to play so prominent, distinguished and creditable a part. The due discharge of my duties often necessitated long absences abroad. During these absences, Liaquat Ali Khan assumed, in addition to his own heavy and burdensome responsibilities, current charge of the duties of the Minister for Foreign Affairs also. I can affirm with complete truth and sincerity that during the period of nearly four years that we were associated together as colleagues and coadjutors in the service of Pakistan, we worked together in complete mutual trust and confidence. This relationship was a source of support and strength to me during periods of difficulty and harassment. I can recall no incident, no single word or gesture which marred the perfect harmony that subsisted between us. I received from him the fullest support throughout. I could detect in the very timbre of his voice a pulsation of the fullest trust and confidence and deep pride whenever he uttered the words 'my Foreign Minister'. To hear those three words spoken by him, as he spoke them, was a satisfying reward and an incitement towards further zeal in the service of Pakistan. On one occasion, I addressed a somewhat impatient communication to him from abroad drawing his attention to what I had, for lack of information from my Ministry, construed as the adoption of an inconsistent position by one of delegations to an International Conference. His reply was characteristic. It was brief but courteous intimation that the full facts were being cabled to me. The telegram from my Ministry setting out the facts was an adequate and satisfactory explanation.

On one major question alone, I gave him advice which he was somewhat reluctant to accept. He finally yielded. After a short experience of what I had myself advised I had to confess to him that his judgement had been right and that I had been in error. The smile with which he received my confession was charged with indulgence for a colleague and a friend but betrayed no trace of self-righteousness.

His devotion to duty and his anxious and delicate nurture of Pakistan through its babyhood furnished an inspiring example to all his colleagues and to those who had an opportunity of working in close association with him. He carried this often to the neglect and

even the sacrifice of his health, the protests of his wife and his medical advisers notwithstanding.

His most outstanding qualities were his poise and the balance and sobriety of his judgement. He liked to deliberate over matters of importance and hated being rushed. He was sustained through his prolonged labour by the equanimity of his temperament as well as by his abiding sense of humour. I recall one social occasion at his residence when I overheard him say to a diplomat : "I like to take my own time over things. As Zafrulla said to somebody who was getting anxious over getting a decision from me ; don't be impatient. The Prime Minister does not overlook anything. A decision will be forthcoming. You have put the matter to him, which means you have mailed your letter. It will not be lost in transmission. It is sure to be delivered to the correct address, though the delivery may be somewhat delayed". My ears tingled as I heard him repeat this for it was near enough to what I had actually said to somebody concerning him. So I slipped round to face him and entered a mild protest. He smiled, his dear familiar smile and said: "Well, you know, Zafrulla, it is quite a correct description and I rather liked it when I heard it".

Space forbids indulgence in further reminiscence. That comradeship was tragically cut short. His death, in the midst of devoted and selfless service of Pakistan, was not only a grievous loss to Pakistan, but to the whole of the East and to the cause of peace and progress everywhere. He left us the priceless legacy of a high purpose to strive for and a bright example to emulate. Our more intimate memories of him are a treasure that we shall always deeply cherish.

Chaudhri Zafrulla Khan

LIAQUAT—PAKISTAN'S MAN OF DESTINY

Among Liaquat's many activities in the struggle for Pakistan was his close association with the '*DAWN*' upon its foundation by the Quaid-i-Azam, and many were the nights he spent at the Press, personally working on any checking material, distribution and other matters, in order to get it on its feet. He deeply appreciated the work of Altaf Hussain in building it up into a valuable instrument of service to the Muslim League and to the nation. It played a part which deserves an honourable mention in the history of Pakistan.

The following few extracts from the memorial publication "LIAQUAT—the Man of Destiny", will, I feel, serve to highlight some of the qualities which made Quaid-i-Millat the great man and the great leader that he was.

Field Marshal Mohammad Ayub Khan,
(then Commander-in-Chief of the Army)

"In time of stress and crisis, and God knows that we have been through many of them, his cool understanding of factors, logical deductions and sound and bold decisions, free of emotions and rashness, were simply phenomenal. He was at his best on such occasions and was a source of inspiration to all around him. In spite of his soft exterior, he had the heart of a lion and never compromised on principles, however unpalatable it may have been to others. In times of crisis, political or military, he always got to the danger spot, the rightful place of a true leader of men and transformed the situation by putting it in its true perspective. Watching him listen to people with coolness and calm with obvious unconcern was a great education, yet the watchful inner vision never got taken in by eye-wash or a forced behaviour, and never failed to spot the inner and true urges and motives. This quality alone gave him a great mastery over men and the ability to assess their value".

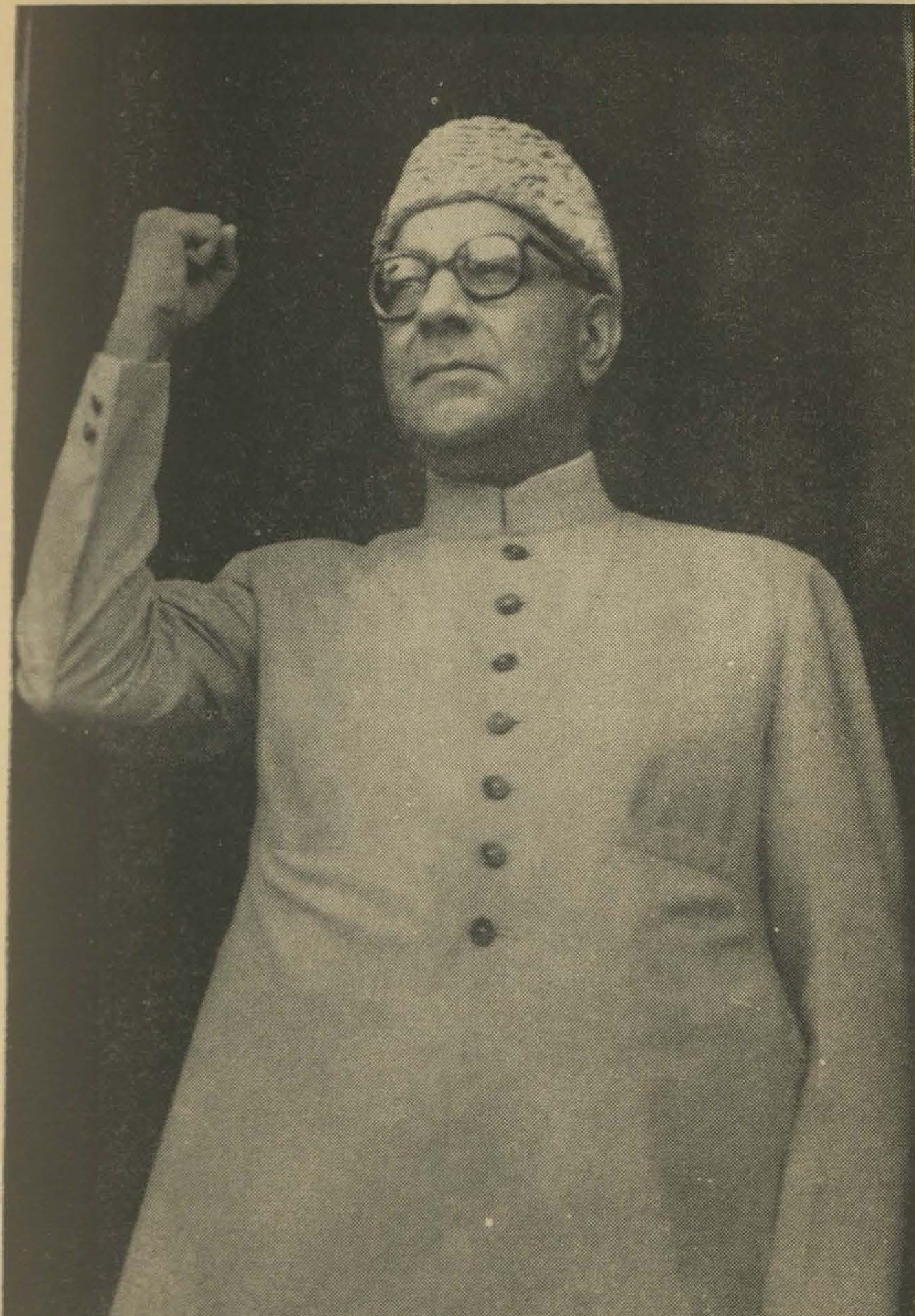
Agha Abdul Hamid, (then Private Secretary to Quaid-i-Millat)

"Like all great administrators Quaid-i-Millat was exceptionally clear-headed and had the gift of wading through a mass of detail to the core of the problem. He was always willing to take pains and consider a case in all its aspects. When I started working under him, I was again and again startled into the realisation that he had one of the quickest minds I had come across. His appearance and manner never gave any indication of the quickness of his intelligence. In spite of this he always had the patience to hear you through".

Major-General Osborne, C.I.E. (who served for a number of years in the North-West Frontier Province and the Punjab)

"There is an old proverb that runs : 'The hour reveals the man'. How true that was of Liaquat Ali Khan. It was only the emergency that revealed his true stature. His strength of character and sense of service were shown very early when he spurned the life of ease and luxury that was customary among most Indians of his class, and decided to devote his life to social service, and especially to education and politics. From his youth on he was a man of vision. He was a man of sound common sense. In fact, his sense of quiet humour hardly seemed to mark him as a political fighter.

'But the hour reveals the man'. The mantle of Jinnah passed on to Liaquat Ali Khan. Greatness followed greatness. During 1947—1951, under the inspiring leadership of Liaquat Ali Khan, Pakistan established her nationhood. Few Prime Ministers have had to face responsibilites more exacting and more continuous. He became a man of immense power. But great power that corrupts weak natures, ennobled his character and revealed in him a sense of destiny—a self-dedication that inspired him not only to surmount the baffling and intricate problems of his own people, but also to bring to international affairs a calm and wise counsel that marked him as a great statesman".



Concluding his address to a crowd of 150,000 persons, after it had reached his residence, the Quaid-i-Millat exclaimed: "From today this shall be the symbol of our national determination".

H.E. T.B. Jayah (then High Commissioner for Ceylon in Pakistan)

"An ardent lover of peace, a great believer in the Islamic way of life and in Muslim brotherhood, he was firmly convinced that Pakistan, being a leading Muslim State could as a member of the United Nations Organisation and its specialized agencies, contribute to the peace and prosperity of the world. His insight into men and matters, his never failing patience, his supreme confidence in the face of dangers, his unfaltering faith, his inspiring leadership raised Pakistan high among the great countries of the world. It was given to few to have accomplished so much within so short a time".

Nawab Siddiq Ali Khan, (then Political Secretary to Quaid-i-Millat)

"He came to Pakistan a refugee ; lived and served it a refugee ; and died for it a refugee, without house, land, property or money and above all, with no regrets whatsoever for the enormous sacrifices, material and otherwise, that he was making in the service of his people. For him it was never a question of what or how much he did not have, or should have, but of what or how much every one of his people did not have or should have".

Begum Ra'ana Liaquat Ali Khan

LIAQUAT—A GREAT GENTLEMAN

Liaquat Ali Khan was a great gentleman, this is what I would say if I were asked to give my impressions of him in one sentence. It might appear superficially to be an inadequate praise for a politician and statesman of such eminence as Liaquat Ali Khan, but it is really not so. Politics have a corroding effect on manners and morals, therefore, it is no mean achievement to have remained a gentleman even after becoming a politician, for so long and of such importance.

It never ceased to be a matter of wonder to me how Liaquat Ali Khan could remain unruffled under the most exasperating circumstances, see the humorous side of the most trying situation and be unfailingly courteous to all. His work as Prime Minister entailed long hours of work with Ministers and Secretaries of all departments besides which, during the Assembly session, he had not only to be present in the House but preside over League Party meetings for periods which appeared even to me interminably long. At these meetings, he would listen with exemplary patience and good humour to everyone's point of view, however long, boring or irrelevant it might be. He never interrupted or cut anyone short, in fact we lost patience with his patient hearing of what we considered absurdities. But he always restrained us, saying "Please, please you must give every one a chance of expressing his point of view".

When his turn came to speak, the members rarely gave him the patient hearing that he accorded them. To their numerous and unwarranted interruptions, he would retort with a twinkle in his eye, "Look, I have listened to you very patiently, couldn't you, at least in this matter, follow my example."

He could always see the funny side of every situation and always by a timely joke relieved the tension. Once I was extremely chagrined

at having failed to get enough support against the passing of a Bill which I had insisted on being put to the vote.

"Who listens to a bird's [redacted] song in an orchestra", said I highly indignant at having been proved that I had so little support.

"But, the two birds don't sing in unison", was the Prime Minister's quick retort.

To attend innumerable social functions was also a part of Liaquat Ali Khan's onerous duties. Here again I could not but marvel at the fact that he invariably appeared so gay and light-hearted. There have been evenings when I have known for a fact that he has come from meetings at which matters of gravest concern to Pakistan have been discussed, and yet he showed no sign of fatigue or weariness. He had that wonderful capacity of throwing off all worries and cares for the moment, and relaxing completely. His wit and humour made him the life and soul of every party, and peals of laughter could always be heard coming from the group of which he was the centre.

Our men, by and large, are not used to the society of women, and are not at ease amongst them. They are either awkward and embarrassed, thereby making women also feel embarrassed or show a familiarity of manners to which our women are not used to, thereby again causing embarrassment. Very few of our men have that correct mixture of defence and familiarity which can put ladies at their ease. Liaquat Ali Khan's manners had that rare combination ; it was a pleasure to talk to him and nothing that he said jarred.

A nation's place in the scale of civilization is judged by the position of its women. Liaquat Ali Khan realised that and, therefore, was a great champion of the progress and emancipation of women. By allowing his wife to remain in the vanguard of women's movement, he braved a lot of narrow-minded criticism. Let us hope that his most untimely and tragic death does not put the clock of progress back.

Begum Shaista Ikramullah

THE PERSONALITY OF LIAQUAT

I met Liaquat Ali Khan first towards the end of 1944. It was at the "Gul-e-Ra'ana," his house at 8-B, Hardinge Avenue, New Delhi. I had gone to see him at his request.

It turned out that he wanted me to be the chairman of the governing body of the Anglo-Arabic Boys Schools, Delhi. He said that Zahid Husain who had been chairman for some time asked to be relieved and had suggested me as his successor. "Would I accept ?" I accepted with pleasure.

Liaquat Ali Khan was President of the Anglo-Arabic Society at that time. During the two and a half years that I looked after the three boys schools of the society, he never interfered in the affairs of these institutions, and he and I never had any occasion to meet on this account.

My next and most important contact with him came in October, 1946, when the Muslim League decided to join the Interim Government. I was then in Military Finance and was on a month's leave at Lahore. It had hardly been a week when a telegram arrived from Delhi telling me that I was wanted for the post of the Private Secretary to Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, the new Finance Member of the Viceroy's Council.

I must confess I was not thrilled at the prospect. It is true that I had spent more than three years in war time as Private Secretary to Sir Jeremy Raisman, but that was a different matter. Sir Jeremy was one of the most outstanding Finance Members of the Council at any time, besides being a profound scholar of Greek and Latin and modern philosophy, and the finest draftsman in the Government of India. Working with him had taught me all I knew. I could not hope to add to my professional knowledge by working for a politician. At any rate so I thought.

When I reached Delhi I found things had been fixed already and there was no question of choice. That was how I began, but it hardly took me a week with my new chief to get rid of my initial hesitation. Liaquat was undoubtedly a politician, but there was a sober dignity about him which marked him out from the whole crowd of politicians in the country.

There was nothing that could excite or rattle him or make him lose his temper. He spoke effectively in public and had his moments of oratory, but he was not a fire-eater and never sought to inflame the feelings of his audience. He was a great Parliamentarian and was at his best in the debates of the Indian Legislative Assembly. He marshalled his arguments systematically, made his statements pointedly and was good at repartee.

He was very popular socially with the British and the Indians alike. His general reputation was that of an easy-going, comfort-loving person with plenty of *bonhomie*. Even his political opponents had a good word for this portly, well dressed and bald-headed Muslim Leader. A good man gone wrong—that was the worst they could say.

But what struck me most about him was the man's capacity for cool and objective thinking, his anxiety to examine all about a question and his willingness to listen to men of all shades of opinion. In his interviews, though, he was often disappointing; rather than say anything half-baked, he would say nothing at all. You could talk to him for half an hour without getting anything out of him except a dry, "I shall consider it."

I myself had my impatient moments with him when I got exasperated at what I believed was his refusal to share his thoughts with an ordinary mortal. I even suspected that what I had said had not sunk in. But I was always proved wrong. He inwardly registered everything. A couple of days or more would pass without his saying anything, when suddenly he would tell me what he thought of my proposal and why. Only then would I know how much of hard thinking he had been doing in silence and on his own, and how carefully he had weighed the

various aspects of the question before coming to a conclusion. The only other person, who, in my experience, had the same approach to policies and problems was Sir Jeremy Raisman, who was always "turning things over" in his mind until he got the right answer.

Unlike Liaquat, Raisman had a vast background of administrative experience. But both men seemed to have in common a capacity for systematic thinking and considered decision. And they seldom, if ever, had occasion to go back on a decision once taken. They had other things too in common. Their outlook on life was cosmopolitan and egalitarian. Beneath a somewhat phlegmatic exterior both were warm hearted and affectionate. Raisman, the bureaucrat, was gifted with an amazing capacity for political judgement, Liaquat, the politician, had a quality rare among politicians, the capacity for sound and unbiased administration.

His freedom from bias was remarkable and sometimes quite astonishing. There were occasions when pressure was brought to bear on him in favour of Muslim Officers who wanted promotion. After a meticulous study of personal records he would often come to the conclusion that a particular Hindu or British Officer was better than a particular Muslim and so he said : "Good was good and bad was bad."

I have spoken of his easy-going and comfort-loving ways. That was his reputation. In actual fact this easy-going man could spend sleepless nights on his job. I remember the day when Pandit Nehru made a speech in the Assembly on the Bihar Massacre. Liaquat thought it was a biased statement and had to be countered.

That evening Syed Noor Ahmed and I were called to "Gul-e-Ra'ana" to prepare a reply. We went through a whole mass of newspapers and other information obtained from those who had visited the scene of the tragedy personally. A draft was prepared with great care, as we thought, but it did not meet with Liaquat's approval. He wanted more information and fuller clarifications. We made another attempt which suffered the same fate. And so it went on till about five in the morning when, at last he said "Yes" to the final product.

And this was the statement that Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar delivered on behalf of the Muslim League that morning in the Council of State.

An example of the way he could master his subject was provided when his famous Budget came up for discussion in the Viceroy's Cabinet. It was on February 28, 1947. The meeting started at 10.30 a.m., and went on till after twelve. As usual, the Finance Member was accompanied to the Cabinet by the Finance Secretary and some of the other senior Officers of the Finance Department. One of them told me after the meeting, with genuine admiration, how the Finance Member had explained the Budget proposals himself in the fullest detail without having to turn to any of them for consultation.

The Budget controversy was the severest test of patience that any human being could have been subjected to. There was excitement all around, in the Cabinet, the Press and the public. There was only one man who kept cool and was utterly unaffected by the heat and bitterness of the controversy, and that was Liaquat Ali Khan. His dignity and composure were an example to the lesser men that were pitted against him. Nor for a single moment did he allow himself to descend to the level of his opponents, or to adopt a personal attitude in the controversy that raged round him. He remained what he always was, calm, collected, objective and dispassionate.

I went with him and the Quaid-i-Azam to London for the Round Table Conference of December 1946. What happened at that Conference is now history. Briefly, the Muslims refused to come into the Constituent Assembly and decided to go their own way. It is not my purpose to tell the story at any length but I cannot help recalling the dedication with which Liaquat as the greatest and most faithful follower of the Quaid, pleaded the cause of the Indian Muslims.

I particularly remember a conversation at a dinner given by Lord Addison to the Quaid and Liaquat at which I was present. Some one raised a controversial point. The Quaid, as usual, started making mincemeat of the argument but Liaquat became somewhat emphatic.

Abandoning the measured tones of his conversation he raised his voice.

"Gentlemen", said he, "if this is what you think, you will be responsible for the blood of a hundred million Musalmans". Coming as it did from the aristocratic, Oxford-educated Liaquat Ali Khan, it made quite a stir and the conversation escaped into other channels.

I left the job of Private Secretary at the time of Independence. From June, 1947 onwards, I had found myself preoccupied with my duties in the Assets and Liabilities Committee and other partition work and had left the Finance Member's personal office largely to Wazir Ali, who was Additional Private Secretary with me. My eleven months with Liaquat had been a period of great stress and strain. It had witnessed the end of British rule in India and the partition of the Sub-continent. While, after the 14th August, I had ceased to be his personal adviser he sent for me, from time to time, for one official purpose or the other. And whenever I met him I felt that I was meeting not only the first Prime Minister of Pakistan but also the last Finance Member of Undivided India, a man whom I knew and who commanded admiration and affection.

Then came that dark day, the 16th October, 1951. I was away in Holland on a Military Purchasing Mission with my friend Ikramullah, then Foreign Secretary. We were staying with Lal Shah Bokhari, who was Pakistan's Minister at the Hague. As I finished a meeting that afternoon and got into the Legation car, the driver turned slowly towards me. "Have you heard about your Prime Minister", he asked. "Why", said I somewhat alarmed, "What is the matter?" "He has been assassinated today", said he sadly, and as he looked at me he added "I am sorry, Sir".

That afternoon I could think of only one thing—Work.

As I reached the Legation I saw a number of Pakistanis, men and women, sitting in Lal Shah's drawing room and looking at each other in depression and despair.

"What will happen now?", someone said.



Liaquat Ali Khan and Lord Wavell at the Palam airport, New Delhi, on Nov. 30, 1946, before flying to London. Mr. Mumtaz Hasan is on Liaquat Ali Khan's right.

"I know what will happen", said I, with an emphasis I still remember, "I am going to work. That is what the Prime Minister would have done if he had been alive and that is what he would want me and all of us to do now that he is gone". I worked at my papers till midnight, when I was overcome by a sense of physical weariness and went to bed. But I could not sleep.

"What will happen now?" The question I had brushed aside that evening came back again and again. "What will happen?"

The Prime Minister was no more.

The man who had piloted the country through the difficult days after the Quaid-i-Azam's death was gone. The tower of strength that had stood four square to all the winds that blew had fallen.

Liaquat Ali Khan had given his life to the country he loved and lived for. He had died that Pakistan may live. His mission was over, the Martyr has earned his martyrdom.

Mumtaz Hasan

THE FOREIGN POLICY OF LIAQUAT ALI KHAN*

On October 16, 1951, Liaquat Ali Khan, Prime Minister of Pakistan, was shot dead at Rawalpindi. Just three years earlier, when Pakistan lost its hero and founder, Mohammad Ali Jinnah, his mantle fell on Liaquat Ali Khan. Under his leadership, the nation not only sustained itself, but also gained in strength and stature. To him goes the credit of consolidating Pakistan, giving it stability at home and a reputation abroad that has been the envy of all Asia. Liaquat Ali Khan's death was certainly a greater shock to the country than was Jinnah's, for Jinnah was ailing and had already passed the span of three score and ten. Liaquat Ali Khan was still in his middle fifties and was murdered. This was horrifying. When Jinnah died, Liaquat Ali Khan, as Prime Minister, was in effective control of the affairs of the nation. When Liaquat Ali Khan died, there was no one at all marked out in the public mind to succeed him. However, the same night the dead body was flown to the capital. The next day, after the burial, it was announced that the veteran Khwaja Nazimuddin had agreed to step down from the office of Governor-General and become Prime Minister. The crisis lasted only a day. "Never before," said a Western diplomat posted at Lahore, "did I see a nation take so great calamity with so little panic, uneasiness or dislocation....... In fact, till today I could never have believed that an Asian nation could have the nerve and stamina to stand up to such a disaster with such a will and calmness."

There was no department of Pakistan's affairs in which Liaquat Ali Khan did not play a conspicuous and often a decisive role. This is particularly true of foreign affairs. In all countries, foreign policy is the special responsibility of the head of the administration. In the United Kingdom this is true not only when the Prime Minister himself holds the portfolio of foreign affairs, as did Mr. Ramsay Macdonald

* Pakistan Horizon, Karachi, Vol. IV, No. 4, December 1951.

in his first government, but also when another person is the foreign minister. The extent to which a Prime Minister takes responsibility for foreign policy depends sometimes on his personality; at others on the gravity of the issues involved in that policy. Thus we see that in Britain after the first World War, although the foreign affairs portfolio was held by Lord Curzon, it was said that Mr. Lloyd George was his own foreign minister. In Mr. Neville Chamberlain's administration, Lord Halifax was foreign minister; but Mr. Chamberlain himself conducted the fateful negotiations with Hitler. In the United States, the Secretary of State is in charge of foreign affairs. But in matters of high policy the lead is given and decisions are always taken by the President himself. Indeed, Lincoln once went to the extent of saying, "I am my own Secretary of State." When Pakistan was established and Liaquat Ali Khan became Prime Minister, he kept the foreign affairs portfolio in his own hands. But even after it was taken over, in January 1948, by the brilliant and seasoned Muhammad Zafrulla Khan, the most important problems of foreign policy continued to be dealt with, either wholly or in varying degrees, by the Prime Minister. One of the reasons for it, of course, was that Chaudhri Zafrulla Khan had to be away a great deal with the Security Council, which was seized with the Kashmir case. Vital issues such as were involved in relations with India or with the Commonwealth, were, in the main, handled by the Prime Minister, who occasionally took a hand in the Kashmir question also.

Before I examine Liaquat Ali Khan's foreign policy, I want to attempt an answer to the question—to what extent did he possess those qualities that go to make a successful foreign minister? In my opinion he certainly had the most important of those qualities. He was born in a wealthy conservative family. But he was not hindered, as many of his contemporaries were, either by the wealth or the conservativeness of his family from receiving a good education, in fact the very best. He went to Aligarh and then to Oxford, where he took a degree and was called to the Bar. But he decided not to practise as a lawyer, nor to take service under the foreign government. He knew that there was no need for him to work for a living. So he chose politics for a career. And in politics he refused to be bought by any

party. If he had chosen to side with the British or the Congress, he would have been metamorphosed long ago into a most important man. But he resisted that temptation. For 15 years he was active in "mild politics". Then came the new and vigorous phase of the Muslim movement for self-preservation, culminating in the demand for Pakistan. It found Liaquat Ali Khan in its forefront. There were in this movement older and more tried politicians, men who were more talented, men who had greater contact with the masses, or who were more eloquent as orators. Why then did Jinnah choose Liaquat Ali Khan to be his principal lieutenant? The answer is simple. There was none more dependable personally or reliable politically, none who was more straightforward or more incorruptible or more self-effacing in following settled policies than him. Jinnah judged him by these virtues and, when Pakistan was established, appointed him his Prime Minister. Thus, when Liaquat Ali Khan discussed the problems of Pakistan with foreign diplomats and statesmen, they knew that they were talking to a man whose sincerity and integrity were above reproach, a man who could not be shaken in his loyalties. While the interests of Pakistan came first with Liaquat Ali Khan he was not unconscious of wider responsibilities or unaware of the interplay of world forces. Of these he had a full appreciation. Indeed, he was an internationalist, rather than a nationalist. Culturally he was a Muslim; but he had essentially a cosmopolitan outlook on life. He could feel at home with all people in every country. An admirable trait in a foreign minister. The fact that he had received high education at a foreign university, and that one of the greatest in the world, gave him the self-confidence and the intellectual stature needed to enable one in his position to talk, at least on a footing of equality, with the leaders of the world.

Liaquat Ali Khan did not have that vast fund of words that Chaudhri Zafrulla Khan commands. He was not outstandingly accomplished as a platform orator, either in Urdu or in English. Nevertheless, his speeches at public meetings were effective, because of his sincerity, his clarity of thought and his capacity for assessing and interpreting the feelings of the masses. He was a highly successful debater in parliament. However, it was in across-the-table discussion and in negotiation that

he excelled. He had sound commonsense, a sense of humour and, what is even more valuable in a negotiator, patience. Zeal in a diplomat, said a famous European statesman, is a vice next only to treachery in reprehensibleness. There was no zeal, in that sense, in Liaquat Ali Khan the diplomat. He was all restraint, speaking in a homely, earnest way. His voice would rise sometimes, but never his temper.

The Prime Minister never put on airs, never tried to give the impression that he was playing an "historic role", never posed for posterity. He suffered from no complexes. He was a natural man, at peace with himself and the world. He could make his visitors and guests feel perfectly at home and effortlessly give them all his attention. Habituated to good living, he was an excellent host and on all occasions his manners were perfect.

In a statement issued on the morrow of the establishment of Pakistan, Liaquat Ali Khan proclaimed to the world the position which he intended Pakistan should take in international affairs. He said, "I wish it to be clearly known abroad that Pakistan starts on its career without any narrow and special commitments and without any prejudices in the international sphere." He added that in his view there was enough room in the world for rival ideologies. What shape his foreign policy would have taken had Pakistan not got involved, as she did, in a series of grave disputes with India, if she had not come to depend upon the United Nations for the solution of the Kashmir problem, it is difficult to say. It is my belief that but for her entanglements with India, Pakistan, under his leadership, would have played a more effective part than any Asian nation has been able to do, in neutralising the tension between the two blocs. And that would have been a blessing for both of them and for the world.

As will be seen later, our policy was in some instances pro-West. Nevertheless, right until the end, Liaquat Ali Khan believed in, and tried to follow, an independent foreign policy. Speaking at Gujranwala, on March 9, 1951, he said that Pakistan was not tied to the apron-strings of the Anglo-American bloc, nor was she a camp-follower of the Communist bloc. Pakistan, he maintained,

had all along been uninfluenced by the inter-bloc struggle going on in the world and had supported the cause which it considered to be just. He claimed that it was on this principle that Pakistan had voted in the United Nations sometimes with the Western bloc, at others with the Communists. He stated the pitiless truth when he declared that Pakistan had received no help or assistance from any country of the world and whatever she had achieved was due to her own efforts and resources. Consequently there was no question of our being subservient to any Power in matters of foreign policy. He maintained that there was no inconsistency between the membership of the Commonwealth and an independent foreign policy. As evidence of it, he cited Pakistan's refusal to devalue her currency. In her diplomatic relations, Liaquat Ali Khan pointed out, Pakistan was not swayed by the fact that a particular country was a communist state or a capitalist state. He was obviously referring to our recognition of, and establishment of diplomatic relations with, the new regime in China. He could also have pointed to the fact that Pakistan had trade relations with Communist countries and had abstained from voting on the United States resolution in the General Assembly for imposing an embargo on trade with China.

He was not a communist. He once publicly claimed that there was more freedom in Pakistan than in Russia. But he could have had no antipathy towards the Soviet Union, merely on the score that it had abolished what we call the zamindari system. He was alive to the evils of that system in backward communities such as ours. He was alive to the fact that if in the present circumstances this system continued without drastic reform, it would be a danger to the State. Addressing the members of the Punjab Assembly Muslim League Party on April 3, 1951, he said "that the zamindars must quickly adjust their outlook on pressing agrarian problems of the country in accordance with the requirements of the time. They should not hold back today what the people would seize from them by force tomorrow."

He was a believer in Islamic social justice. Fundamentally Islam is anti-feudal and its tendency is to prevent accumulation of wealth in the hands of a few. So naturally he had no sympathy with landlordism or capitalism.

But the statesman that he was, Liaquat Ali Khan was not a doctrainaire politician. He was a realist, whose aim was to raise the living standards of the poverty-stricken masses of his people. This could only be done through large-scale economic development, for which there were neither capital, nor plant, nor technical skill in Pakistan. These could only come from the West. So he was actually dependent upon the West for the vital economic needs of the country, as he was dependent upon it for the solution of the Kashmir problem through the United Nations. Hence his visit to the United States as well as the speeches that he made there were of tremendous value to Pakistan. But he was no opportunist. He noted the gigantic developments that had taken place on the North American continent and the political achievement of its peoples. He would have liked to have seen some of those developments in Pakistan. But he would certainly have sought to so control capitalism in Pakistan that it would have worked to improve the lot of the poor rather than make the rich richer. He stood for a progressive social policy and believed in radical reforms within the framework of a democratic society.

There was great enthusiasm in Pakistan for Liaquat Ali Khan's projected visit to Russia. He had to postpone it—in effect—to abandon it and instead go to the United States, only on account of the priorities that have been mentioned above. Like most Pakistanis, he could not but have desired to have the best of relations with our neighbour, the Soviet Union. But it must have been painful to him that this sentiment was not reciprocated. On the Kashmir question, the Soviet Union has, in the Security Council, consistently abstained and only once did its representative express an opinion; and that was not favourable to Pakistan. The Soviet journals too have published articles that are far from complimentary or friendly to this country.

On Korea, initially Liaquat Ali Khan supported United Nations' action on the ground that North Korea was the aggressor. Later, he pleaded for the localisation of fighting and observed, "I think it would be wrong to start on the presumption that China does not want peace."

Subsequently he condemned the United States resolution branding Red China as an aggressor, characterised it as a serious threat to peace and regretted that the 12 Arab-Asian nations' resolutions for exploring the means of bringing about a cease-fire in Korea and getting other Far Eastern questions settled had been defeated.

It was originally the policy of Liaquat Ali Khan's Government that the peace treaty with Japan should be signed by the Peking Government to which we had accorded recognition. But that Government was not even invited to the San Francisco Conference, and Pakistan along with most members of the United Nations signed the treaty, even though Peking did not. This course was no doubt dictated by a desire to avoid getting involved in complications, for Pakistan single-handed already had quite enough of them to face.

About the Commonwealth Liaquat Ali Khan was not enthusiastic. This was no doubt due to the callousness displayed by the Commonwealth statesmen towards us, in the initial and even the later stages of our career as a nation. Nevertheless, Liaquat Ali Khan was not unmindful of the potentialites for good possessed by the Commonwealth organisation. Addressing the Canadian Parliament on May 31, 1950, he said : "In the uneasy, apprehensive world of today, such a large group of nations with so much identity in their declared aims should be a heartening spectacle to mankind. No practical person would therefore wish wantonly for its disintegration." But during the four years that he was Prime Minister he gave no indication of what in his opinion should be the final shape of Pakistan's relationship with the Commonwealth. All that he said was: "Now there are three courses open to Pakistan. Firstly, to continue its existing relations with the Commonwealth ; secondly, to reshape its constitutional relations with the Commonwealth in the same way as India has done ; and thirdly, that it may sever all connections with the Commonwealth. The Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, which is drafting the future constitution of our country, is fully competent to adopt any of the three coures stated above."

However, Liaquat Ali Khan made history in Commonwealth

relations. He refused to attend the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in January, 1951 unless he was given in advance an assurance that the Conference would discuss the Kashmir question. The theory hitherto held was that the Commonwealth as such could do nothing about intra-Commonwealth disputes, and that these should be settled either by direct negotiation between the parties concerned or through the United Nations. This was the officially held view, supported by the academic theoreticians of the Commonwealth. The origin of this theory obviously was that the members of the Commonwealth knew that India was in the wrong in the Kashmir dispute and they did not wish to be put in the position of demonstrating it. They did not care what happened to Pakistan or even to India, so long as they had both tied to them. Liaquat Ali Khan squarely put a large share of the blame for the failure of the United Nations to solve the Kashmir question on the United States and Britain and said, "I shall be prepared to go, if I find that the Prime Ministers are willing to deal collectively with the Kashmir problem to see what they can do". To the talks on Commonwealth defence, he indicated he had no useful contribution to make. So the Conference began in London without Liaquat Ali Khan being present at it. When they discovered that he was not bluffing, they gave the assurances he had asked for and he went over and joined the Conference. Formally or informally, the Kashmir dispute was taken up. Three Commonwealth Prime Ministers proposed to Pandit Nehru eminently reasonable suggestions for the resolution of the dispute, which, of course, he rejected. This series of transactions did more than anything else to focus attention in the Commonwealth countries on the gravity of the Kashmir problem, the justice of Pakistan's stand and the Indian Prime Minister's truculent unreasonableness in respect of it.

The general objectives of Liaquat Ali Khan's foreign policy were of course, the establishment of world peace, the pacific settlement of all international disputes and the improvement of the circumstances of the human race. For these purposes he believed in full co-operation with the United Nations. Pakistan has been a faithful member of the United Nations and has played her part in the General Assembly. She

has been elected to the Economic and Social Council and occupies various positions in the specialised agencies of the United Nations. She is serving or has served on the Balkans Commission, the Eritrean Commission, the Libyan Commission, Korean Commission and the Peace Observation Commission, to name only a few.

Apart from international co-operation within the framework of the United Nations, it was Liaquat Ali Khan's aim that Pakistan should have friendly relations with all the countries of the world and brotherly relations with the Muslim countries. Under his inspiration, every effort was made to protect and advance the interests of the Muslim countries. True, the battle in the United Nations to save Palestine from being handed over to international Jewry was lost. But Pakistan, then only a few months old, emerged from it the recognised champion of Muslim interests throughout the world. Pakistan did her best in support of Indonesia's independence. When it was achieved Liaquat Ali Khan sent a warm message of congratulations to the Indonesian nation and to celebrate the occasion there was a public holiday throughout Pakistan. Then there were Libya, Eritrea and Italian Somaliland. Chaudhri Zafrulla Khan has striven for their independence with all his forensic eloquence and adroitness.

Liaquat Ali Khan personally came and gave his blessings to the International Islamic Economic Conference and the World Muslim Conference, or the Motamer, as it is called. The Prime Minister paid visits to Egypt, Syria, Iraq and Iran and was enthusiastically received by their people. At his invitation, in the spring of 1950, the Shahenshah of Iran came to Pakistan and made an extensive tour of the counrty. It was a big event in Pakistan, all classes of people joining in giving him a welcome such as the ruler of one country rarely receives in another. Liaquat Ali Khan also had plans for an early visit to Indonesia. When the tragic news of his death reached those countries, they were thrown into grief, their leaders and journals declaring that the loss was not of Pakistan only but of the entire Muslim world.

In advocating close and active association between the Muslim nations, Liaquat Ali Khan was not only following a policy that

reflected the sentiments of his people but also one that was politically sound. On the one hand these nations have no disinterested friends among the Powers and ought, therefore, to be friendly with each other. On the other hand, they have so much in common that they could be a naturally coherent force, which should not only help in the safeguarding of their own interests but also contribute to world stability. This policy has certainly made an impression in the Muslim world and won its goodwill for Pakistan, as is clear at least from the fact that India has failed in her efforts to establish herself in the Middle East. These efforts failed because of India's known hostility to Pakistan.

It must, however, be pointed out that on the concrete matter in issue between Iran and Britain and between Egypt and Britain, there were no categorical declarations of policy by Liaquat Ali Khan's Government. No doubt, that Government must have represented to the British Government through diplomatic channels on which side the sympathies of our people lay. It may be that diplomatic representations are more effective than public declarations. The same applies to the question of the freedom of Malaya.

Pakistan's policy about Afghanistan has been one of restraint in the face of grave and continuous provocation. Indeed this policy has been so restrained as to give the the impression that Pakistan was weak. Following the traditional British policy Liaquat Ali Khan ought to have resorted to the argument of force. But he refrained from using that argument. He took no retaliatory steps. On Afghanistan's persistently refusing to be reasonable, Liaquat Ali Khan could have made her see reason, at least, by stopping Afghanistan's trade passing through Pakistan, which in effect is all her trade, thus denying her vitally needed supplies. But he chose not to do so, undoubtedly, because he did not want instability in that country.

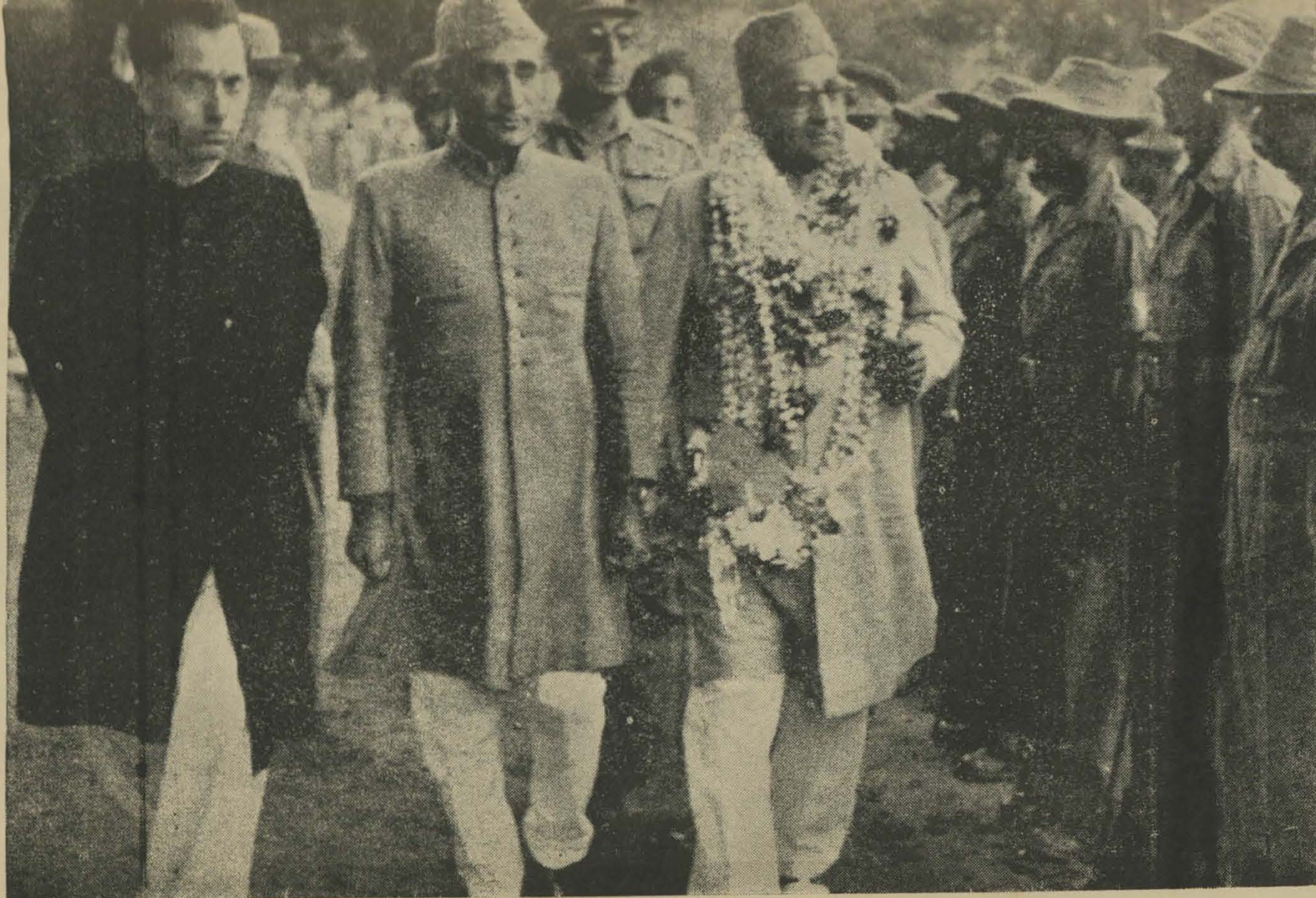
Liaquat Ali Khan was in favour of self-government for all subject peoples, irrespective of their race or religion. But with this principle, Pakistan's policy in Indo-China was apparently inconsistent. The official explanation of it is that there are in that area two indigenous factions contending for power. Pakistan cannot side with

one against the other, and that she would accord recognition to whichever of them succeeds in establishing its government over the whole country, as recognition was accorded to the Communist regime of China, after its ouster of Chiang Kai-shek.

However, Pakistan enjoys in South East Asia a measure of respect that is eminently satisfactory to Pakistanis. And this, in spite of the fact that sufficient diplomatic attention was not paid to this region. Its people are no doubt impressed with the manner, at once business-like and morally correct, in which Pakistan has conducted her affairs, and her internal stability. They know that she has no expansionist ambitions and is a genuine friend of the weaker nations. Her relations with Burma and Ceylon, in which there could easily have been difficulties, have throughout been cordial. There is no doubt that this is largely due to Liaquat Ali Khan's personality.

As has already been pointed out, the Kashmir question was handled in the United Nations, so far as Pakistan was concerned, by her Foreign Minister, Zafrulla Khan who has also been generally responsible for the detailed negotiations with the United Nations Commission and representatives. However, Liaquat Ali Khan stepped in whenever the Foreign Minister was abroad or matters of special importance were under discussion. In respect of Kashmir, Pakistan has depended entirely upon the justice of her case and upon convincing all concerned with it. There has been little attempt at manoeuvring or applying diplomatic pressure, except, as has been noticed above, to have the question discussed by the Commonwealth Prime Ministers. Pakistan's attitude has been characterised by high moral rectitude and strict adherence to the Charter of the United Nations. She has agreed to everything that has been proposed by or on behalf of the Security Council. She has refrained from resorting to diplomatic tactics. One could suggest some such tactics. Perhaps our policy makers themselves, under the leadership of Liaquat Ali Khan, thought of such tactics and, seeing no scope or moral justification for them, rejected them. But about all this we know nothing.

While there are no apparent obscurities about the Kashmir



The Prime Minister inspecting the Azad Kashmir forces with Sardar Ibrahim and Chaudhari Ghulam Abbas.

case, since it went to the Security Council, the same could not be said of its earlier stages. In this context many questions occur to the minds of students of international and Pakistan affairs. Quite a few foreigners asked me why, when partition was decided on, a final arrangement was not come to about the disposal of the states generally, or at least Kashmir. For it must have been obvious that the formula, by which British sovereignty over the states was to lapse, and they were to have the right of acceding either to India or Pakistan or of remaining independent, would not work smoothly. I have no doubt that there must have been weighty considerations for retaining in the partition scheme of 1947 this vestige of the Cabinet Mission Plan of 1946. Again why, after partition, were more energetic steps not taken to prevent Kashmir from falling into Indian hands? It is a fact that well before the Maharaja "acceded" to India there was mass killing of Muslims in the state and there also was revolt in Poonch. These had serious repercussions in Pakistan, entitling Liaquat Ali Khan to intervene. Why did he not act boldly and effectively ? True, we were then faced with the situation created by the massacre of Muslims in the Indian Punjab and the problem of refugees. It is also true that we did not then have a properly equipped central organisation, civil or military. Perhaps in these facts lies the explanation that we are seeking.

Indo-Pakistan relations were more or less the exclusive sphere of Liaquat Ali Khan and he handled them with all the consummate skill and determination of a great patriotic statesman and an accomplished diplomat. Ever since the establishment of our new State, relations with India, consistently unpleasant, have overshadowed all aspects of our affairs, internal and external, political and economic. A detailed consideration of these would require a complete book. Here we can only notice the principal developments which Liaquat Ali Khan was called upon to face.

The trouble between India and Pakistan actually began even before they were established as free and independent nations. For the first 35 years of his political life *i.e.,* until he adopted the creed of Pakistan, it was the endeavour of Jinnah that while India should be free, Muslims living in it should have the assurance that they would

not be discriminated against on the ground of their religion. In other words, he was seeking a *modus vivendi* for the Muslims of the Sub-continent. To hasten its freedom, he was willing to accept any scheme that would assure its Muslim inhabitants that their religion, culture, language and political and economic rights would be safeguarded. That explains why more than once he offered to do away with separate electorates for the Muslims and settle with the Congress on the basis of joint electorates, provided it agreed to other effective safeguards for the Muslims. That explains too why he offered to shelve Pakistan and accept the three-tier plan of the British Cabinet Mission. But the one thing that no Hindu party would agree to was a *modus vivendi* for the Muslims. More than anything else, they wanted the Muslim community to come unconditionally into a free India, in effect, to be completely at the mercy of its vast Hindu majority. And yet the very people who rejected Jinnah's repeated offers of a settlement on the basis of joint electorates and the British Cabinet Mission Plan of 1946, agreed to partition and the establishment of a separate Muslim sovereign State. Why did they do this most amazing thing? They genuinely believed that the new State would collapse. They were convinced it would not be economically viable and that the Muslims had no administrative capacity. And when it collapsed, they thought, they would have the Muslims of Pakistan as well as those of residuary India in the bag! It was their hope that it would collapse by itself and it was their plan to assist it to collapse. Indeed, they did everything to bring about its collapse. But it did not happen. There was no financial breakdown; and the Muslims showed that they knew how to run a State and had the right kind of spirit for it. Nevertheless efforts have continued in India to create every conceivable difficulty for Pakistan and to endanger its existence. One of these efforts was and has been the persecution of Indian Muslims, so that they are compelled to migrate in vast numbers and create for Pakistan psychological, financial and administrative problems of an unbearable character.

About the beginning of 1950, the persecution of Muslims, particularly in West Bengal, developed to an alarming extent. The

situation, horrible in itself, might, it was feared, lead to a refugee movement, comparable with that which had flooded West Pakistan soon after the establishment of the new State, threatening its very existence. Indeed, during the period February 17, 1950 to March 31, 1950, 478,816 Muslims migrated from West Bengal in India to East Pakistan. In the face of grave provocation, the Government and people of West Pakistan kept their heads cool. The incidents that took place on our side of the border were insignificant compared to what happened in India. Concomitantly with the killing, looting and driving away of Muslims, there was a raging agitation in India for the invasion and annexation of Pakistan. It was clear that the situation had really been created with the object of providing an excuse for invading Pakistan, as Hyderabad and Junagadh has been invaded. On the other hand, the position of Indian Muslims had deteriorated to such an extent that something had to be done about it at once. As Liaquat Ali Khan said: "For large numbers of them the future holds nothing but perpetual fear and misery; when the day dawns they do not know what their fate would be at its end; when the sun sets they do not know whether they will live to see another day". Pocketing his pride, our Prime Minister decided to go to Delhi and confer with Pandit Nehru. From this Conference, emerged what is known as the Liaquat-Nehru Pact or the Delhi Agreement of April 8, 1950. By this Agreement the two Governments undertook to safeguard the fundamental, political, cultural, and economic rights of the members of the minority communities in their respective countries. There were also provisions for preventing offences against their persons, property and religion and for punishing persons who committed or instigated such offences and for preventing propaganda against the territorial integrity of either State and for taking prompt action against individuals and organisations responsible for such propaganda. Refugees who returned to their homes were to be given back their property or otherwise helped in rehabilitation. Such were the principal provisions of the Agreement that Liaquat Ali Khan entered into with Pandit Nehru. Its immediate effect was to ease the tension between the two countries, tension that might easily have led to developments disastrous to both of them.

But the Liaquat-Nehru Pact did not succeed as it ought to have succeeded. There were two reasons for it. In the first place, the dispute about Kashmir and the other disputes between India and Pakistan were still unresolved. The tension generated by these disputes continued notwithstanding the Pact. In the second place, the Government of India did not enforce the preventive and punitive provisions of the Pact. The vast majority of the Hindus did not reconcile to Pakistan. Hardly had the ink of Pandit Nehru's signature on the Pact dried than the campaign of hate against Pakistan was revived throughout India. Vile accusations of maltreatment of Hindus in Pakistan were made. Many of these accusations the Government of India itself admitted to be false. However, the demand was put forward in countless public speeches and newspaper articles that Pakistan must be liquidated. Day in and day out the Indian Muslims were truculently asked, as a condition of their being allowed to stay in India, that they should Hinduise their language and culture and even their religion. As a result of this propaganda they were subjected to a crippling economic boycott and there were riots in which many of them lost their lives and property. Pandit Nehru plainly admitted that there had been violations in India of the Pact of April 1950, but pleaded that he was unable to enforce it, because certain articles of the Indian Constitution stood in the way of his doing so. On the other hand, how conscientious and determined Liaquat Ali Khan was in enforcing the Pact is clear from the fact that since it was signed, i.e., April 8, 1950 until August 15, 1951, there was not a single anti-Hindu riot in Pakistan as against 80 anti-Muslim riots in India. Indeed, whenever the attention of the authorities in Pakistan was drawn to anything said or done in violation of the Pact, appropriate and speedy action was taken about it. In contrast with Indian leaders Liaquat Ali Khan believed that if the two countries were to have internal stability, the religious, political and economic rights of their minorities must be safeguarded. The Hindu minority in East Pakistan has not been told that it cannot keep its own separate culture or language. Indeed, it has been categorically assured that it can.

Let us consider the next important development in Indo-Pakistan

relations with which our Prime Minister was concerned. In December 1949, Nehru proposed to Liaquat Ali Khan that he should join him in signing a declaration to the effect that India and Pakistan would not go to war against each other and would settle all differences between them by the recognized peaceful methods of negotiation, mediation and arbitration. This was a dexterous move on the part of the Indian Prime Minister. However, by the masterly manner in which Liaquat Ali Khan handled it, he demonstrated that it was no more than a political pose. He pointed out to Pandit Nehru that peace between India and Pakistan could be assured not by declarations but by an actual settlement of outstanding disputes between them, namely, the disputes about *(a)* Kashmir, (*b*) Junagadh and the neighbouring states which had acceded to Pakistan and which India had forcibly seized, (*c*) canal waters, (*d*) evacuee property, and (*e*) the assets of Pakistan held by India. He emphasised that it was not sufficient to declare in general terms that the two Governments should settle all their disputes through negotiation, mediation or arbitration. They must be actually settled and for that a definite and binding procedure laid down. Liaquat Ali Khan proposed that two months should be allowed for resolving a dispute by negotiation, and if that should fail, two months for mediation ; and if mediation should also fail, the matters in issue should be automatically referred to arbitration, which should be completed within two months, the Governments of the two countries binding themselves to accept the arbitrator's award, whatever it might be. Pandit Nehru would not go beyond the declaration in general terms that he had proposed and rejected Liaquat Ali Khan's concrete plan. Knowing that in each one of her disputes with Pakistan, her case was so weak that no honest arbitrator would ever give judgement for her, India has always avoided irrevocably and finally agreeing to adjudication by arbitration. And this, in spite of the provisions in Article 51 of the Indian Constitution that the state should encourage the settlement of all disputes by arbitration.

To show how wise Liaquat Ali Khan's stand was and how illusory Pandit Nehru's offer, the instance of the canal waters dispute might be quoted. In one of his letters to our Prime Minister, Pandit

Nehru complained that he had offered to have this dispute settled through judicial determination, but that Pakistan had turned the proposal down. Actually what happened was this : India proposed that the matter should be referred to a tribunal composed of two Indian and two Pakistani judges. But what would happen in case they got deadlocked, Pakistan asked. The two Governments would then consult again, said India. Was that judicial determination? However, Pakistan offered to accept the Indian proposal provided it was agreed that the proposed tribunal should have a fifth neutral judge, the award of the majority to be binding on the parties. The Government of India rejected the proposal and said that if there should be a deadlock, some method should be discovered for resolving it. The Pakistan Government asked what method was suggested. There has been no reply to that.

By far the most dangerous development in Indo-Pakistan relations that Liaquat Ali Khan was called upon to face was the concentration about the middle of July 1951 of Indian troops on the borders of Pakistan. There was no doubt whatever that this time India meant business. Pandit Nehru moved up about 90 percent of his forces and all his armour to the frontiers of West and East Pakistan. There was no excuse for it and no explanation except that there was "talk of war" in Pakistan and Nehru wanted to stop it. But this "talk of war" was nothing when compared to the widespread, undisguised and unrestrained press and platform propaganda in India that demanded military action against, and destruction of, Pakistan and which the Government of India did nothing to check. Anybody could see that it was not to stop "talk of war" in Pakistan that Pandit Nehru had moved up his troops and armour to our frontiers. Liaquat Ali Khan, of course, ordered consequential troop movements on our side of the borders. He refused to be overawed. Addressing a vast demonstration outside his house in Karachi, he declared his resolve to fight for every inch of Pakistan's soil and held up his clenched fist as a gesture of his and the nation's determination and defiance.

In the correspondence which ensued Liaquat Ali Khan asked the Indian Prime Minister to order his troops and armour back to



Liaquat Ali Khan and Jawahar Lal Nehru signing the Liaquat-Nehru Pact in April, 1950.



The Quaid-i-Azam, the Quaid-i-Millat and Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar in conversation with Lord Mountbatten and Congress leaders on June 2, 1947.

their peace-time stations and offered to do the same in respect of Pakistan troops, which had been consequentially moved up. When the immediate threat to peace was removed, he suggested, the pending disputes between the two countries should be settled. About Kashmir, they should, on the basis of the United Nations Commission's resolutions, to which both India and Pakistan were committed, go forward to demilitarization and plebiscite. If there should be any differences between the two Governments regarding the meaning of these resolutions, they should be bound by the guidance of the Security Council. With regard to other disputes, Liaquat Ali Khan suggested that they should be resolved through negotiation, mediation and, both failing, through arbitration or judicial determination. He further asked that the provisions of the Pact of April 1950 regarding propaganda in either country against the other should be rigorously enforced. Of course Pandit Nehru saw no sense in these propositions. But when Liaquat Ali Khan proposed to him that the two countries should declare that neither would attack the territory of the other, the Pandit partly revealed the real purpose of his troop movements. He demanded that when we say that we shall not attack India, we should include Kashmir in Indian territory. That, Liaquat Ali Khan pointed out, was begging the question, inasmuch as the whole question before the Security Council was whether Kashmir shall accede to India or Pakistan, which was to be settled through an impartial plebiscite. That would determine whether Kashmir was Indian territory or Pakistan territory. But Liaquat Ali Khan said that he would maintain the cease-fire in Kashmir.

By ordering counter-preparations for war and by declaring that he would fight if Pakistan were invaded, he stayed the projected Indian invasion. They had hoped that they would have a walk over. On the contrary, they saw Pakistan arms and troops moved up to take their places opposite theirs. They saw the grim determination of her masses and of their leader. So they changed their minds. The diplomatic handling of this crisis by Liaquat Ali Khan still further raised his stature as a statesman. There were many, particularly in the Punjab, whose patience had been exhausted by India's unending chicanery and who

wanted to have it out with her. But Liaquat Ali Khan, though determined to resist aggression, was not for precipitating a war. For he knew that it would not involve only the two armies, but also cause destruction of civilian lives and devastation of private and public property on a scale unprecedented in this part of the world. The worst sufferers perhaps would have been the Muslims of India.

Doubtless Liaquat Ali Khan had all these considerations in mind when he decided on his diplomatic approach to the perilous situation. It was a most difficult approach. One false move and there would have been war. Or, one false move and Pakistan would have been put in the wrong. It was what may aptly be called political tight-rope-walking. In his letters to Pandit Nehru, he subjected Indian pretences and pretexts to a merciless analysis and established beyond the shadow of doubt that India was a war-monger and would not agree to a settlement of any of her disputes with Pakistan on any terms except her own. These letters and Pandit Nehru's replies to them are there for any one to read. By this correspondence, Liaquat Ali Khan brought world opinion entirely over to the side of Pakistan. This was his last great achievement in the sphere of foreign policy.

Gladstone once said that the first principle of his foreign policy was to make his country strong. So it was with Liaquat Ali Khan. To make Pakistan strong was the overriding aim and purpose of all his exertions. He was enlightened enough to realise that the possession of military strength alone did not make a nation strong. The weakness of a country lay primarily in low standards of living of the masses and unequal distribution of wealth. He sought to have the land system of Pakistan radically reformed, not only because he considered it to be unjust, but also because he had taken to heart the lesson of countries which refused to reform theirs and paid for it with revolution, disintegration and chaos. He was enthusiastic about Pakistan's schemes of agricultural and industrial development, because he believed that they would add to the prosperity of the masses as well as to the strength of the country. The weakness of a country lay in self-seeking political leadership and corrupt administration. He

sought to exorcise these evils in Pakistan, sometimes, even at the sacrifice of his personal popularity. Himself he was the model of all those moral virtues that he was anxious to promote in the public life of his country. Having left behind in India his ancestral acres and his palatial mansions, he died leaving behind not even a home for his children and a bank balance of only about Rs. 1,200. Many others have built for themselves houses and acquired other property. He could have done likewise and by quite fair means. But the Prime Minister had no time for private affairs. He gave all of it and all his attention to the affairs of the nation. Such a man is hard to come by in any country.

Liaquat Ali Khan died when he was at the height of his powers, which means that he had a complete grip over affairs and alongside of it a capacity to learn new things and revise old opinions. He was still growing. He died when the world had just recognized in him one of its leading statesmen and a great man.

K. Sarwar Hasan

THE TWO QUAIDS

Quaid -i- Millat Liaquat Ali Khan met the Quaid-i-Azam for the first time in Calcutta in 1929. Both were there in connection with the great stir among the Muslims over the report of the Nehru Committee headed by Pandit Motilal Nehru.

When the matter came up for discussion in the Central Assembly that year, the Quaid-i-Azam made the straightforward statement that the differences between Hindus and Muslims over the report remained unresolved and, as a consequence, "the attempt of making an agreed constitution for India became a dead issue". An All-Parties National Convention was called in Calcutta to discuss the Nehru Report and, if possible, to establish a rapprochement. The Muslim League also held a plenary session there under the presidentship of the Maharajah of Mahmudabad and formally resolved to participate in the deliberations of the National Convention.

The Quaid-i-Millat had no doubt gained prominence in his province through his patient and persistent work as a member of the U. P. Legislature. But it was his first participation on a national platform. He must have caught the eye of the Quaid-i-Azam by his unhurried manners and his moderation and restraint even while he expressed himself on provocative subjects. The Quaid-i-Azam—a great judge of men—valued these qualities above everything else.

The Quaid-i-Azam was the dominating personality at the League session. Its President, the Maharajah of Mahmudabad, was his choice. The Maharajah had cordial personal relations with Pandit Motilal Nehru. This made the Quaid-i-Azam think that the Maharajah's leadership of the Muslims at this stage would brighten the prospects, if any, of a settlement of the Hindu-Muslim differences. As subsequent events proved that too did not help.

Quite significantly, however, a newcomer to that national forum, Quaid-i-Millat Liaquat Ali Khan, was included in the 23-man delegation elected by the League's plenary session to take part in the deliberations of the All-Parties National Convention. That marked the beginning of an acquaintance that progressively developed into a relationship of utmost trust and confidence.

By May 30, 1939 the Quaid-i-Azam had known the Quaid-i-Millat well enough to write in his will :

(1) This is my last will and testament. All other wills and testaments of mine stand cancelled.

(2) I appoint my sister, Fatima Jinnah, Mr. Mohammad Ali Chaiwala, solicitor, Bombay, and Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan of Delhi as my executrix and executors and also my trustees.

The Quaid had never any reasons to change this. Mr. Chaiwala opted out of it for personal reasons. Mohtarma Fatima Jinnah and Quaid-i-Millat Liaquat Ali Khan were thus the two trustees of his estate after the Quaid-i-Azam's sad and untimely demise in 1948. For ten eventful, epoch-making years—the most crucial for Pakistan—the will symbolised the unstinted trust the Quaid-i-Azam placed in his chief lieutenant, the Quaid-i-Millat.

It was an extraordinary honour indeed for Liaquat Ali Khan. By the year 1939 the Quaid-i-Azam had been in the political and professional life long enough to have established relations of close contact and friendship with persons of great qualities and distinction from all walks of life and from all parts of the Sub-continent. Yet—besides his sister and Mr. Chaiwala—he picked the Quaid-i-Millat to be his trustee. This fact alone shows the fruitful consummation of friendship that came out of a chance acquaintance in 1929 between the two men of steady character.

The Calcutta get-together of 1929 proved a turning-point in many ways and it marked an immediate change of horizon ; from then on, he began extending his public life from the province where he rose

to be the Deputy President of the Legislative Council—to the country and the nation.

For the Quaid and the Muslims it turned out to be the parting of ways with the Hindus and the Congress.

The Quaid ably represented the Muslim case before the All-Parties Convention. He stressed the need of composing the conflicting views of all communities for reaching an agreed settlement. The Muslims, he pleaded, were not guided by any narrow selfish motives ; they approached the whole problem in the true spirit of co-operation, in order to frame the future constitution.

He cited historical parallels in support of the demands presented by the Muslims ; weightage to the French-speaking section of population at the time of the Canadian settlement ; guarantees to the Copts in Egypt. But the Congress and the Hindus were adamant.

Their attitude is aptly described by Sir Chimanlal Setalvad in his book "Recollections and Reflections" : "Congress leaders said that there was no communal problem in India and if there was, it could be settled after India got independence, forgetting that for the very purpose of getting independence, communal unity was essential".

Blinded by their prejudice and short-sightedness, the Congress and the Hindus rejected each and every amendment to the Nehru Report moved by the Quaid-i-Azam. This shocking event and his subsequent painful experiences in the next two years drove him into a self-imposed exile in London.

After the Second Round Table Conference he lived in London and took to Privy Council practice. As he left, he said in a long interview with the "Times of India": "I am not likely to return for a considerably long time. Nevertheless, India's welfare and her future progress will be constantly nearest to my heart ; I shall spare no efforts to serve India".

But very soon his friends and admirers in India began pressing him to return and lead the Muslims, who were now keenly conscious

of the tragic lack of first-class leadership among them. Among those who constantly wrote to the Quaid on this subject was Abdul Matin Choudhury of Assam.

But the issue was clinched in 1933, when Quaid-i-Millat Liaquat Ali Khan called on him in London. The Quaid-i-Millat and Begum Ra'ana Liaquat Ali were there for their honeymoon and the Quaid-i-Azam invited them to his Hampstead home (West Heath House, West Heath Road, Hampstead, London.)

Liaquat Ali Khan used his power of persuasion to his full advantage to convince the Quaid that his return would be in the best interest of the Muslims in India. The latter eventually agreed to this in principle. But he proceeded in a considered manner. He asked Liaquat Ali Khan to go back to tour the provinces and then confirm whether the Muslims really wanted him back.

The Quaid-i-Millat carried out this assignment to the full satisfaction of his Chief. On receipt of the report from Liaquat Ali Khan, the Quaid-i-Azam returned to India. Immediately, he issued a clarion call to the Muslims to sink their differences and join the Muslim League, which alone could safeguard their rights and interests.

This was the first manifestation of trust in Liaquat Ali Khan by the Quaid-i-Azam. The former responded to this by opting to work faithfully and devotedly under the latter's guidance. This set in motion a unique relationship that lasted up to the last days of the Quaid-i-Azam

The later years were so full of big issues that the Quaid did not find many occasions to publicly place on record his appreciation of Liaquat Ali Khan's services in the common cause. Among his various acknowledgements of Liaquat Ali Khan's work is a significant one made at the Karachi session of the All-India Muslim League in 1943. The Quaid-i-Millat's name was proposed there for another term as the Honorary General Secretary. The Quaid, putting the motion to vote, declared :

"Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan is my right-hand man. He has worked and served day and night and one could not possibly have

an idea of the great burden he shouldered. He commands the respect and confidence of the Musalmans. Though a Nawabzada, he is a thorough proletarian, and I hope other Nawabs in the country would follow his example."

The Quaid-i-Azam made a similar observation before a group of young men—including this writer—who called on him in New Delhi in the later part of 1945 : "Gandhi has men who can advise him and whom he can depend on. And he leans on them quite often...I have only Liaquat".

When this writer met the Quaid again in New Delhi, he was staying at the residence of Liaquat Ali Khan, "Gul-e-Ra'ana", 8B, Hardinge Avenue. This was quite unusual for the Quaid. He had his own house in New Delhi—10, Aurangzeb Road—and he was very strict in such matters. It was a favour which only Liaquat Ali Khan could claim from him in that city.

That was a polling day in Liaquat Ali Khan's constituency and he had gone there. The Quaid spoke affectionately about Liaquat Ali Khan and said he was anxiously awaiting the report of first returns from his constituency.

This trust and affection from the Quaid-i-Azam evoked the depth of devotion and loyalty from the Quaid-i-Millat. It found expression in his numerous public statements :

> "Honesty without humbug, an honesty which even his severest critics have never called in question, an honesty which seeks no shelter in sanctimonious spiritual impediments, which abjures alike the halo and the high place, the beard and the bargain, the mystic voice and the money value—an unemotional shrewdness which strips facts down to their naked reality but makes him pace the floor till the early hours of the morning, examining and re-examining, weighing and valuing each detail of the decision upon which the very life or death of his people might depend—perseverance which recognises no



The Quaid-i-Millat with the Quaid-i-Azam, Mohtarama Fatima Jinnah and Begum Liaquat Ali Khan going to attend a function.

obstacle as insurmountable ; intellectual acumen which can see the whole in detail and detail as part of the whole ; such is the man and the statesman; the Quaid-i-Azam of ninety million Indian Muslims, the Disraeli of Indian politics—Mohammad Ali Jinnah".

* * * *

"On this memorable occasion I am reminded of the Father of our Nation and the founder of our freedom, our Great Leader, Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, of revered memory, without whose vision, determination and burning honesty Pakistan might have remained a vague longing and a distant dream.

"A sincere patriot, a passionate follower of democratic ideas, and a man who saw farther and more clearly than his fellows, he led the Muslims of British India out of their perplexities and frustrations into the open air of freedom, and gave shape, significance and direction to their quest for liberty......"*

What they were to each other, however, speaks much louder than what they said about each other. After his return from England the Quaid reorganised the Muslim League, in order to make it a forceful instrument for the great struggle ahead. The process started with the election of Liaquat Ali Khan as the General Secretary. Both of them remained the President and General Secretary respectively of the national organisation till the achievement of Pakistan.

Besides being the General Secretary, the Quaid-i-Millat was also the Convener of the Committee of Action and the Central Parliamentary Board. After he was returned to the Central Assembly in a by-election in 1940, Liaquat Ali Khan got the No. 2 position—the Deputy Leader—under the Quaid in the Muslim League Party. There the Quaid encouraged him to develop into one of the most accomplished debaters of his time.

In the concluding phase of the struggle for Pakistan, Liaquat Ali Khan had virtually to function as the Leader of the Party in the

* An address to a joint session of the Canadian Houses of Parliament in Ottawa, May 31, 1950,

Assembly, as the Quaid did not always get time to come to the Chamber. When the national movement's organ, the DAWN, started publication in 1942, the Quaid readily named Liaquat Ali Khan as its Managing Director.

When the Muslim League agreed to share power with the Congress in the Interim Government, Liaquat Ali Khan became the leader of his party's bloc in the Cabinet. In December, 1946, His Majesty's Government invited two representatives each of the Congress and the League for talks in London. The Quaid took none else than Liaquat Ali Khan with him. On August 14, 1947 the Quaid-i-Millat was the natural and obvious choice for the nation's first Prime Minister under Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah—the first Head of State.

This was indeed, a unique relationship—which may well be termed as a partnership in patriotism—that had its modest beginning in 1929 and stretched over a period of 20 years. The memories of the struggle of liberation waged by the Muslims of the Sub-continent will thus be ever associated with these two men as long as Pakistan stays on the map of the world.

M. Fazal Imam

LIAQUAT—A PROLETARIAN

"Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan is my right hand. He has worked and served day and night and one could not possibly have an idea of the great burden he shouldered, He commands the respect and confidence of the Musalmans. Though a Nawabzada, he is a thorough proletarian, and I hope other Nawabs in the country would follow his example". Thus spoke Quaid-i-Azam in a speech at the session of the All-India Muslim League, Karachi, on December 26, 1943.

A child born on October 1, 1895 with a silver spoon in his mouth and growing up as a young man with the traditions of advanced English education and all that went with it, should acquire a bourgeois mentality, but Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan was different. He was a proletarian. He was not only fond of democracy but was also its strong protagonist.

There was a reason for this. He was so much influenced by the Aligarh Muslim University, that the long and continued period of his education at Oxford could not obliterate it. And then the movement of Pakistan under the leadership of Quaid-i-Azam made this great man still greater.

Liaquat Ali Khan took part with keen interest in the debates and discussions in the Students' Unions in England. He was extremely respectful to his teachers.

Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad, the then Vice-Chancellor of the Aligarh Muslim University, visited him often and Liaquat Ali Khan always stood up to receive him respectfully as if he was still his student.

He cherished Islamic principles and was indeed a perfect gentleman. Being brought up in aristocratic traditions and having had the best education he had every chance of being nominated to the Indian Civil

Service, but when the occasion arose, he declined to serve British interests and chose to serve his own people.

From his early life, Liaquat Ali Khan had begun to take interest in politics and when he came back home from Europe in 1922, public service was uppermost in his mind. He lost no time in joining the All-India Muslim League and four years later was elected to the United Provinces Legislative Assembly.

In 1936, he was elected General Secretary of the All-India Muslim League. He had the opportunity to serve under the leadership of Quaid-i-Azam and was elected each year to this office until the establishment of Pakistan. Such was his popularity.

In 1931 Cawnpore was the scene of a Hindu-Muslim riot. This happened at the time when Bhagat Singh was hanged. The British Government appointed an Inquiry Committee to find out as to which community was responsible. Liaquat was a member of the committee and steered it ably and diligently and saved the Muslims from many baseless accusations.

Liaquat Ali Khan earned a good name on account of this. He spoke strongly against the Simon Commission in the U. P. Legislative Assembly. When the question of co-operation with the Simon Commission was put to vote in the Assembly, he voted against it. Incidentally the motion was defeated by one vote.

Sir Malcolm Hailey, the Governor of U. P. had once taken the step of persuading Raja Khushal Pal Singh, who was an active member of the Democratic Party, to flout the discipline of his party and appointed him a minister. At that time the province was governed by the system of diarchy and although it was not necessary for a member of the Executive Council to command the confidence of the Assembly, the Minister had to seek its co-operation.

The Governor was anxious that Raja Khushal Singh should get strong support from the Assembly. He, therefore, invited Liaquat Ali Khan to a luncheon and casually suggested that it would be better for

all concerned and a matter of personal favour to the Governor if Liaquat would pledge his support to the Raja. But Liaquat Ali Khan refused and explained that the undemocratic action of the Raja could not be encouraged, particularly when he has been so active a member of a political party.

In 1946 when the British Government invited only the Indian National Congress for the formation of an Interim Government and decided to hand over power to it which was in fact the result of the Hindu-British conspiracy, the Muslims of India stood up against it under the leadership of Quaid-i-Azam. The British administration was forced to include the Muslim League in the interim arrangement.

The Congress leaders tried their best that the Muslim League should not get important portfolios. Pandit Nehru was the recipient of Foreign Ministry. Defence was allotted to Sardar Baldev Singh and Sardar Patel "sat on" the Home Ministry and thus, according to them they captured all the key positions.

The leadership of the Muslim League Ministers was allocated by Quaid-i-Azam to Liaquat Ali Khan. He had been trying that some important portfolios should also be given to the Muslim League.

At last the Congress conceded the portfolio of Finance in the hope that none of the Muslim League Ministers was capable of handling the most technical department and would himself fall to pieces.

Liaquat kept the portfolio of Finance to himself. The facts have proved that the Congress was disappointed, its wishful thinking was shattered and in fact it lost a good deal of face.

The annual Budget introduced in the Indian Assembly by Liaquat Ali Khan came to be regarded as a milestone in the economic and social field. It was prepared keeping in view the welfare of the people.

It proposed heavy taxes on commercial profits and reasonable levies on the capital. It created nervousness in "*Banya Shahi*". This "poor man's Budget", as it came to be popularly known, caused panic

among Hindu commercial circles. The opposition to the Budget proposal showed Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in his true colours.

The Pandit opposed the Budget openly. He and his Congress colleagues could see in its provision the strangulation of Hindu capitalists. The Congress claim of representing the masses was completely disproved.

On the other hand, the Congress opposition to the abolition of salt tax unmasked the revered Mahatma of "Sabarmati Ashram", who had, in 1930, created a scene before the Hindu public by making sea salt illegal, by refusing to pay salt tax and had dramatised his short-lived civil disobedience.

Liaquat Ali Khan proved, on the one hand, that the combined ministry of the Congress and the Muslim League cannot be workable, in which one Minister could not vie with the other and viewpoints differed basically.

On the other hand' the budget influenced the Congress leaders to such an extent that they themselves began to rid themselves of the fear of any possibility of being cornered in future. Thus the way to separation was quickly prepared.

It was quite natural that after the partition, when the Indian Constituent Assembly and the Cabinet were also divided, the Quaid-i-Azam approved of the appointment of Liaquat Ali Khan as the first Prime Minister of Pakistan.

These were indeed very hard days. Influx of refugees from the other side of the border was a big problem. Hindu bankers, business-men and industrialists, in whose hand the economy of the area rested, had migrated under a preconceived plan. This had created a vacuum in the life of the new country. The Hindus were convinced that Pakistan would not survive for long.

Only a year after its establishment, Pakistan lost the guidance of Quaid-i-Azam. The country had not yet found its firm base and the

calamity left every one frustrated. As Prime Minister, Liaquat Ali Khan had to share the burden of administration, discharged his responsibility, as calmly as was humanly possible in the circumstances.

In that hour of national bereavement he provided a soothing balm and solace and this kept up the country's morale as high as it was, and yet the pace of progress was constantly maintained. Like a soldier he worked for the continuity and stability of Pakistan.

During the succeeding years Liaquat proved himself to be a wise statesman, an able and firm administrator and a calm and cool politician.

Few have so far equalled him. The nation had not recovered from the shock of the death of the Founder of Pakistan, Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, when the "goat-hearted" India attacked the state of Hyderabad Deccan.

It created a critical situation in Pakistan and even its integrity and stability were at stake, but it was Liaquat Ali Khan's cool and calculating leadership that saved the situation.

But even then India continued to be active in its dishonest designs and in April 1950 surrounded the boundaries of Pakistan with heavy armed contingents and simultaneously in its own country began a series of genocidal activities against its Muslim minority.

This cowardly manoeuvre was probably with the intention that by so doing the people of Pakistan would be terrorised, particularly when an attempt for economic strangulation had proved abortive. But even when the monkey tactics of a fake show of force had failed, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru invited Liaquat Ali Khan to Delhi, and thus came into being the famous Liaquat-Nehru Pact, which among other things ensured the protection of Muslim life and property in India.

Under this Pact India was responsible for stopping the communal riots. It ensured the restoration of Muslim confidence and Pakistan was given the right to exercise pressure on India that the provisions of the Pact are strictly followed.

Immediately after the Pact Liaquat Ali Khan went to America for a tour at the invitation of the Government of the United States, but at the same time he declared that he was not going there with a "beggar's bowl" in his hand. To the nation it was an exhibition of corporate self-respect.

In August 1951, India concentrated her forces on the borders of Pakistan. In reply to this Pakistan also sent a brigade to the border. The result was that India sent more troops, where-upon Liaquat spoke at a public meeting in Karachi on August 14, 1951 saying that one brigade of Pakistan was retaliated by India by 90 per cent of her troops and if Pakistan had placed more than one brigade what would be the plight of India ?

The declaration reflected self-reliance. But Liaquat went further and symbolised the will and determination of the people of Pakistan by the famous clenched fist which he raised at a public meeting as a mark of retaliation if anyone wished to encroach upon Pakistan's territorial rights.

It was unfortunate that Liaquat Ali Khan was not able to formulate a scheme of constitution within his lifetime. Probably he could have brought about a compromise between the different view-points which were being advanced from different quarters.

To him constitution-making was a solemn affair and undue haste was not necessary. In addition to this there were innumerable problems of an immediate nature that faced the country and the Constituent Assembly had to work more often as the National Parliament than as a constitution—making body.

Nevertheless, there is little doubt that the delay in the constitution, whatever the reasons created some trends which proved to be harmful to the larger interests of the nation. In the first place some political leaders, particularly the less important ones, began to concentrate on their own stability instead of that of the country.

Secondly, the so called semi-official leaders, who had been pro-

minent under the patronage of the British, became active or were encouraged by internal or external pressure groups.

Thirdly, the higher and influential incumbents in the administrative set-up of the country became ambitious, either for patriotic or selfish reasons. The adage that their position in the country was more permanent than that of the elective office holders came to be applied openly and they slowly but steadily began to dominate the national policies.

Moreover, there was the unfortunate neglect of the accepted public opinion.

Had Liaquat Ali Khan been blessed with longer life perhaps the ensuing struggle for power would have been arrested in time.

Rizwan Ahmad

LIAQUAT AS AN ORATOR

Men furnish more fascinating studies than movements. It is they indeed, who initiate, inspire and shape them. "The superman," says Confucius, "is slow in his words and earnest in his conduct". This was true of Liaquat. Any one familiar with his voice can almost hear the ringing periods in his imagination.

Two varying features common to most of his speeches are never likely to be overlooked. One is his astonishingly comprehensive grasp, not only in principal, but in details of every subject about which he was called upon to speak: it is the mastery of substance even more than of language that gave his words their force. The second is his simplicity of expression illustrated with most appropriate anecdotes.

Liaquat's style was captivating both in copious diction and power of vivid portrayal, whether of individuals or of situations. His picture of any situation was idyllic and superb. Sometimes his words were like string music, short and transient, and on other occasions like wind instruments, sweet and swelling and lengthened out into variety of modulation.

Throughout, his speeches were overweighed by the restraints and responsibilities of office. Most of his best orations were extempore. There is an instructive variety which may be presumed to be as diverse as the themes and occasions of the speeches, which faithfully reflect the rich variety of his many styles.

On all public occasions he retained his level-headedness and was a shrewd commentator of men and affairs. Such a masterly exposition must be the ripe fruit of mature scholarship.

Liaquat never preached revolutionary violence. He realised in the words of Thoreau that "the language of excitement is at best but picturesque merely. You must be calm before you utter oracles".

Born in the land of five rivers, something of the earthly strength was typified in the personality of Liaquat. His strong weather-beaten face with the bushy tufted eye-brows might have been carved out of a gnarled oak. On the platform his gushy gale of a laughter was infectious. His tired eyes were deceptive to the audience, but behind them was a mind as quick-witted as any. He exemplified the saying that one should have a giant's strength, but use it with discrimination.

Since childhood Liaquat had a "desire to be an orator," and he used to address boys of his age in a majestic tone. One cannot resist the temptation of recalling about his childhood, for something of that past clinged to him throughout his life.

According to Chesterfield, "true politeness is perfect ease and freedom. It simply consists in treating others just as you love to be treated yourself". Liaquat knew the psychology of his people more than anyone else. He was a past master in the art of creating a new atmosphere and leading the people on right lines, by creating confidence in them.

He was a success few could claim. He had a mental alertness, a grasp of essentials and an inborn tenacity and courage that whatever the attack from any side, he got the upper hand. These were qualities which instinctively won respect and affection of one and all.

After the death of the Quaid-i-Azam he had to work very hard to counter the insidious propaganda of enemies. There were many in the world who doubted Pakistan's ability to fulfil the void left by the Founder much larger. He mastered the situation by a whirlwind tour of the country. By his sincerity and psychological approach he brought in all his talents, all his persuasive eloquence to appealing the masses. His speeches had no element of surprise in them. One had to take them into whatever quiet recess is left in the mind and let them lie there, before one felt that stir of imagination which is like surprise—for it came with the discovery of something known, but not realised before.

This not only upset the enemy designs, but Liaquat's prestige

went high in the world. One can find a parallel in the historic speeches of Churchill during the dark days of the war.

The "Manchester Guardian", by no means a friendly paper, wrote, "Liaquat is passing from the status of a national statesman to an international one. He belongs to the small group of world figures by whom international destinies are decided".

Of his ability there was no doubt. He was by training and instinctive attraction a superb personality and he knew the true role of his armour. The interest in the audience was highlighted by the treatment of the subject. His humour, his wit and his fine sensibility were the source of inspiration to the masses. His nobility, simplicity and humility endeared him in every society.

Melancholy never crept into his speech. What is more remarkable, is the restraint with which he made use of his material; his artistic sense for a situation and the skill with which in each story he contended to make just the effort required and no more.

He had always been as good as his words. He believed that example was the sincerest form of precept. Before his departure for New Delhi to sign the Liaquat-Nehru Pact, he made a very impassioned speech, which, even the Indian Press hailed as, "the best ever made by Liaquat".

"I am going to Delhi", he said, "because for quite a considerable time now humanity has been suffering greatly in this Sub-continent. Human values which emerged from ceaseless striving continued over centuries are being destroyed by inhuman barbarities. The edifice of civilisation, built on the principles of justices and peace is being demolished by hatred and malice. Crores of men, women and children are spending a life of misery and awe. For large number of them the future holds nothing but perpetual misery and fear. They do not know whether they will live to see another day. In this state of terror they have lost their self-respect and sense of honour. In their daily lives they hardly see any ray of hope".

Upheavals never upset his mind. He was "cool as a cucumber". He never avoided the slings and arrows of the opposition in the Parliament, but waged an honest battle. The fact that on a particular issue he felt strongly did not prevent him from arguing with lucidity and earnestness. He fought and out-manoeuvred many an opponent. His forte lay in his realism and robust commonsense. He showed plenty of fight in grappling with his critics. He was able and astute and had the uncanny knack of going into the root of a problem, however difficult, and coming out with equally uncanny ways of tackling them.

Throughout, his speeches on the floor of the House were scholarly and there was ample proof in every sentence of how wide, effective and fruitful his reading was. Even to read them in the newspapers was at once delightful. They constitute a very important chapter of our Parliamentary history.

In this brief article it is not possible to quote extensively from the vast range of oratory displayed by him, but a few examples will illustrate. On landing in America he said, "I have come here, not to discover America, but to help America discover Pakistan". On another occasion he said, "I have the finest human material you can find anywhere in the world. It is my desire that this human material should have the finest equipment we can afford to supply". The Americans listened to him with rapt attention wherever he went and the American Press published his speeches in full. Liaquat Ali thus did help America discover Pakistan.

Hardly two months before his death he made one of the greatest speeches on the Independence Day, in moving terms. He said, "I do not know how to pay the nation back for this love and confidence. I do not have riches, I do not own properties, and I am happy that I do not, because these things weaken one's faith. I have only my life with me and that I have dedicated to Pakistan. What can I give them, except this praise that if for the defence of Pakistan and its name, the nation has to shed blood, Liaquat's blood shall be mingled with it."

What could he have said on the memorable meeting at Rawal-

pindi? "I am going to make the greatest speech of my life", he said to his wife before leaving for Rawalpindi.

"Bradaran-i-Islam", said he, and the bullet of the assassin silenced him for ever. If the blood of the martyr is to be the seed of faith, then Liaquat did make the greatest speech of his life.

Abdul Qadir

PART TWO

TRIBUTES FROM HEADS OF STATES AND STATESMEN

WORLD TRIBUTES

(Messages from Heads of States and World Statesmen on the sad demise of the Quaid-i-Millat)

President Truman of U.S.A.

In his message to the Governor-General he said, "I send to your Excellency my condolences and deep personal sympathy on the tragic death of His Excellency Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, Prime Minister of Pakistan".

"The American Government and people will share with me the sorrow which has come to the Pakistan nation with such sudden impact.

"I know the memory of Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan's wise leadership and statesmanship will long remain a guide and inspiration to the Government and the people of Pakistan".

His Majesty King George VI

"I have heard with great sorrow the news of the dastardly crime which has resulted in the death of Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan. Please convey the deep sympathy of the Queen and myself to his relations and to all his fellow countrymen to whom he gave such distinguished and devoted service".

H.I.M. Mohammad Raza Shah Pahlvi,
Shahenshah of Iran

"Deeply moved by the dastardly assassination of Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan. I hasten to convey to your Excellency my sincere condolences with the assurance that my people whole-heartedly participate in the sorrow of the noble nation of Pakistan and mourn the loss of a most distinguished Muslim leader".

H.E. Mons. Vincent Auriol, President of the
Republic of France

"Deeply affected by the attempt of which your Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan became victim. I am anxious to address to your Excellency the expression of my condolence".

Dr. Ahmad Soekarno, President of Indonesia

"The people of Indonesia are deeply shocked at the news of the brutal assassination of the Prime Minister of Pakistan. Accept condolences and heartfelt sympathies on the great loss".

Mr. Winston S. Churchill, Prime Minister
of England

"On behalf of the people of the United Kingdom I send to the people of Pakistan and first to Begum Ali Khan and her family, so tragically bereaved, a message of sincere sympathy and of confident hope that there may be found others to carry on the work begun by the Quaid-i-Millat".

Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, Prime
Minister of India

"We are deeply shocked by the news of the tragic death of Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan by an assassin's hand. On behalf of the Government and people of India and my own behalf I send you expression of our profound sympathy in your grievous and irreparable loss. In this moment of sorrow all differences are forgotten and the thought uppermost in my mind is of what he and I strove for in common and of personal kindness and regard which I unfailingly received from him. To you and your children our hearts go out in affectionate sympathy and in earnest prayer that God grant you strength to bear your great bereavement".

"At the meeting of the Congress party in Parliament the following resolution was passed and as Chairman of that meeting I was

asked to convey it to you. Parliament having adjourned at the close of the session the Congress party in Parliament while assembled in meeting received the sorrowful and shocking news of the assassination of Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, Prime Minister of Pakistan. The news has filled all his old friends and colleagues in the Parliament of India, with the deepest sorrow both in the personal aspect and in the larger background of the two peoples of India and Pakistan. We send our most sincere condolences to Begum Liaquat Ali Khan and other members of the family and to the people of Pakistan".

U.N. Secretary-General, Trygve Lie

In a message to the Pakistan Foreign Minister, Chaudhri Mohammad Zafrulla Khan, the Secretary General said : "It is with a deep sense of grief that I convey to the Government and people of Pakistan and the family of His Excellency Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan my profound condolences and sincere sympathy in their tragic loss. My meetings with His Excellency, the late Prime Minister, had always left me with the profound conviction of his devotion to the cause of his own country and his sincerity and goodwill towards the United Nations purpose of peace through conciliation. Violence and lawlessness of the type that had led to this tragic end and to this great loss to the people of Pakistan cannot but harm the cause of all people striving for peace and the world security".

U. N. Council

The Security Council at its meeting held on October 16, observed one minute's silence as a mark of respect to the memory of the Late Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan. This was followed by tributes paid by the Council's President, Ambassador Muniz of Brazil.

The President was joined by delegates from the U.K., U.S.A., India, France, Ecuador, China, Yugoslavia, Netherlands and Turkey, in expression of their profound grief over the untimely death of Pakistan's Prime Minister.

Mr. C.R. Attlee, Former Prime Minister of England

"I had the pleasure of co-operating with Liaquat Ali Khan on many occasions when we were both Commonwealth Prime Ministers. I was always struck by his wise and tolerant outlook. I admire the skill with which he handled the building of the New State of Pakistan. I regarded him as a friend with whom one could converse freely on world problems. It was a great pleasure to my wife and myself to offer hospitality to him and his charming wife. Pakistan and the world have lost a great Statesman".

Al-Syed Mohammad Amin-El-Husseni, Grand Mufti of Palestine

"Pakistan and the Muslim World have lost in the person of Liaquat Ali Khan a great man and an illustrious champion who was in the front line of the most distinguished men of the Islamic World and eminent champions who were struggling for the renaissance of modern Islam and its liberation from the fetters of Imperialism.

"The loss of this titanic leader of incomparable acumen and vast experience has been more detrimental for Islam, especially as his death occurred at this most critical juncture which Pakistan and the whole world are traversing, especially as his death occurred only three years after the death of the Quaid-i-Azam of Pakistan, Mohammad Ali Jinnah.

"I came to know Liaquat Ali Khan when he was working for the liberation and establishment of Pakistan with the Quaid-i-Azam. I also saw him several times during his passage through Cairo on his way to Europe and America in the service of Pakistan and the Muslim World. I noticed that he was a man of keen intellect, of profound sentiment and of exceptional personality. He dedicated all his efforts and talents for the service of Islam. My acquaintance with him rose and deepened when I was in Pakistan for the last time. During that visit I spent three months and saw the late leader on several occasions.

"My faith in his sincerity and capacity was thereby heightened while my appreciation of his talents and attainments were enhanced. It was on account of these that he was selected to take the place of Quaid-i-Azam and assume the position of national leader and Prime Minister.

"He stood firm and unfaltering during all crises that his country was destined to face. He carried the standard of Islam high in Asia. His name will ever be lustrous in the annals of history and his name will ever be remembered for his wise and sound policy which will be followed by his successors at the helm of the State.

"In the name of the whole of Palestine and in the name of Motamer-i-Islami, I offer profound condolences to dear Pakistan for her grave and painful loss, of which the whole Islamic World partakes. I pray to the Almighty God that He may pour His blessings and mercy on the late leader and preserve Pakistan and maintain Islam as a mighty influence in the World".

NEWSPAPERS HOMAGE

Altaf Hussain, Editor, "Dawn"

"A few yards from the body of the Founder of Pakistan now rests in eternal sleep the body of the Builder of Pakistan. Both died in harness and both died for Pakistan. The Quaid-i-Azam worked his body away to waste, the Quaid-i-Millat fearlessly exposed his body to danger for his love of duty and country. The Master and disciple, the twin servants of Islam, who in this century added perhaps the most glorious chapter to Islam's temporal history, now meet again in heaven. Like twin stars, unseen but their presence always felt, their blessings will be continually showered on the land which the one founded and the other built up to a state of stability and strength from which progress forward is inevitable because of its own momentum. It is now for the nation which they served so well, to carry on their work, and in particular to make the blood of martyred Liaquat blossom into the red

rose of Pakistan's triumph. The task belongs to all of us because Pakistan belongs to us..............."

(Dawn, Karachi, October 18, 1951)

Martyr's Blood

"The year that has elapsed since Liaquat's death has not diminished the poignancy of the tragedy and the loss. No event, after the Quaid-i-Azam's death, shook the people of this country more deeply. The wound caused by his assassination has not healed and the sorrow lingers. Among the top most leaders of this country he was probably the only one who was almost wholly a product of the Pakistan Movement. No doubt, he had early enough in his career begun, with some sort of an official position in the old order. But the future was summoning him to his destined role as a maker of a new State, and from the day he joined the Quaid-i-Azam till his last he worked wholeheartedly, first in the service of the idea and later in the wake of its materialisation. The Quaid opened to him, new horizons and guided him to his full stature as a leader and as a statesman. It was as a Muslim Leaguer and as Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah's right-hand man that he entered high office and as the last Budget maker in the Government of undivided India this scion of a family of feudal aristocrats showed a levelling iconoclasm that unnerved the Indian National Congress. The breadth of conception and firmness of purpose that Liaquat showed in that capacity earmarked him for the Prime Ministership of Pakistan. And when he became Prime Minister his was the most crushing burden and he was the most careworn holder of that office in the world. The crisis revealed the untapped reserves of Liaquat's leadership—a leadership rooted in mass contact capable of bringing comfort to the uprooted and the afflicted and possessed of political vision and administrative acumen. With singleness of purpose he addressed himself to its colossal task of rehabilitation, reconstruction and defence. Liaquat's greatest trial as a leader came when Quaid-i-Azam's death had orphaned his people. The enemies of this country had hoped and as friends feared that the crisis might prove fatal to the tender State. Liaquat

brought hope and cheer to the people and raised their moral to a level from which it did not fall even after his death.

"In days of deepening crisis it was always Liaquat's voice for sanity and peace that saved the situation. At a time when the Bharati Prime Minister was threatening this country with "other methods" it was Liaquat who proved the leader and friend of minorities in both countries by taking the initiative towards the Delhi Pact. For a time the Pact seemed to carry with it the assurance of a better frame of mind from the Bharati Prime Minister. But these hopes were speedily frustrated. And when in summer 1951 Bharati troops were massed on Pakistan's borders, Liaquat proved imperturbable in his serenity and unshakable in his determination not to bow to a wicked diplomacy backed by brute force.

"It was part of Liaquat's mission to make this country better known to the world. No other consideration could have led him to accept the invitation to visit the U.S.A. at a time when urgent tasks occupied him at home. He went to America not to "discover" that country but to introduce his own. He spoke as an unapologetic representative of his country and as an unflinching votary of the Faith of Islam. Likewise, he toiled indefatigably to forge enduring fraternal links with other Muslim countries and long before his death he was a recognised leader in the world of Islam.

"Liaquat unfailingly urged upon his people the need for sacrifices. It was only two months before his death that he assured his countrymen that when time came to them to shed their blood for Pakistan, his blood would mingle with theirs. But he proved the harbinger and better than his word. His last gasp found on his lips a prayer for the safety of his country. His death and his prayer are living reminders of his message of faith, determination and hope. The blood that was shed this October day last year was of the kind that gives struggling nations their life and cement. Incalculable are the potentialities of martyr's blood for ensuring the triumph of a righteous cause over wicked designs."

(Dawn, Karachi, Oct. 16, 1952)

New York Herald Tribune

"The assassination of Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan of Pakistan deprives the world of one of its foremost statesmen and may cost it its chances of peace in the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent...........He helped guide Pakistan to nationhood and as its first Premier, he successfully held in check the extremists".........."It is regrettable", the Tribune bemoaned, "that the U.S. should have lost so important a friend in world councils".

Christian Science Monitor

In the course of a short but brilliant editorial said :

"The assassination of Premier Liaquat Ali Khan is a blow to Pakistan, to Islam, and the West.

"For his own country it means the loss of its leading statesman, a moderating influence in a region where religious and nationalistic passions run high, an able spokesman for his nation's cause.

"For Islam it means another victory for the extremist fanaticism which would betray the best in Muslim tradition and which threatens to set the whole Muslim world in self-destructive flames.

"For the West it removes one of the Asian leaders who best understood the Western position, the nature of the Communist threat, and the necessity for the co-operation of the free world both within and without the United Nations".

D. Daylee of New York wrote to the
Christian Science Monitor

"Those of us in America who have favoured moderation while championing the rights of the Asian world should be deeply shocked at the assassination of Liaquat Ali Khan. His death may well have far-reaching repercussions.

"Situated between the downward thrust of Communism in South East Asia and the overwrought Middle East, Pakistan under Liaquat

Ali Khan occupied a pivotal position in the containment of Communism and in the mollification of fanatical nationalism in the Muslim World of which Pakistan is an integral part.

"Liaquat Ali Khan pointed out a year ago, while speaking before the Foreign Policy Association, that the sensitive 'nervous system of the modern world made peace and stability depend very largely on peace and stability in Asia.'

"Certainly the moderation of Liaquat Ali Khan contributed to the current United Nations arbitrament in the Kashmir dispute. His moderation made him a courageous fighter for Asian rights while at the same time a true friend of the West. He contributed successfully to Asian stability."

The San Francisco News

"That most people were more impressed by the forthrightness and sincerity of Liaquat than of Nehru, there can be no doubt. Arthur Coyle in the San Francisco News thus commented "Both Liaquat Ali Khan, Pakistan's just assassinated Premier, and India's Jawaharlal Nehru have spoken before the Press Club here and it violates no confidence to tell you my recollections to give Liaquat the better of it.........Where Nehru was devious in an Oriental fashion, meeting key questions at a slant, Liaquat took them head-on in almost American fashion. Even about Muslim *versus* Hindu struggle in Kashmir he was forthright."

The "Ettalaat", Tehran

The "Ettalaat" under the caption "Liaquat's Death is Irreparable Loss", recounted Liaquat's great qualities. It wrote : "In Liaquat's death, the East has lost one of her greatest men. He found his place among the greatest of his age, through his wisdom, statesmanship, and nobility of spirit and ideals.

The paper added "Liaquat's death is not only Pakistan's loss, but it is an irreparable loss to all the nations of the East. We pray to

God that Pakistan should be able to carry on the great constructive work started by her departed leader."

The Montreal Gazette

"He was the able head of the Government and the acknowledged popular leader of a Muslim nation beset, since its inception four years ago, with critical problems of geography, economics and political stability. His sudden death will be a grave loss to Pakistan and may well have far-reaching effects on the firm, yet resolutely tempered policies he maintained to govern his country's relations with India and other countries of the world.

"As chief executive of the world's largest Muslim State with 77 million people in two widely separated territorial segments, Mr. Liaquat Ali led the way to a solution of a number of pressing problems—economical as well as political—which arose with Pakistan's creation in August 1947."

PART THREE

LIAQUAT'S SPEECHES AND STATEMENTS

THE AIMS OF THE PAKISTANI NATION [1]

In the geography of the world, Pakistan's name is not yet three years old. What led to the emergence of this new State on the map of Asia is perhaps not universally known. Nor do I expect it yet to be common knowledge what urges stir and inspire us in the task that we know lies ahead of us.

Pakistan was founded by the indomitable will of a hundred million Muslims who felt that they were a nation too numerous and too distinct to be neglected forever to the unalterable position of a political minority, specially when, in the vast Sub-continent which was their homeland, there was enough room for two great nations—the Hindus and the Muslims—to enjoy peace and full sovereignty in their respective dominions. They believed that thus alone would the vast multitude of the followers of Islam be uninhibited in the development of their culture and free to follow their own way of life. Pakistan was founded so that millions of Muslims should be enabled to live according to their opinions and to worship God in freedom. That self-same freedom which they sought for themselves they conceded to others, with the determination to live as peaceful neighbours when to live as more than neighbours seemed to be more hazardous. Like some of the earlier founders of U.S.A., these Muslims, though not Pilgrims, nevertheless embarked upon an undertaking, which, in aim and achievement, represented the triumph of an idea. That idea was the idea of liberty which has had its ardent followers in all climates and all countries. When our time came, its call summoned us too, and we could not hold back. The partition of our Sub-continent into two independent sovereign States did not, nor was it expected to, eliminate or efface minorities. But it brought magnitudes within focusable limits and saved the politi-

[1] Liaquat's speech to the Senate of the United States, May 4, 1950.

cal architecture of the new Asia from a strain which might well have proved excessive and dangerous.

But this, we realise, is only the beginning of a new life. The achievement of freedom is not an instantaneous event; it is a process. The seed is planted, but before the tree can take root and grow and spread it has to be nurtured untiringly by innumerable hands. Our Constitution is yet on the anvil and elected representatives of the people are engaged in making it a true mirror of our live beliefs, and our sincere aspirations. To frame a genuine constitution, a people need to scrutinize their own mind and soul very closely. Time-honoured maxims and hallowed principles embodied in a constitution are of little validity, unless a nation feels that it possesses the spiritual strength to live up to them, unless they echo to the voice that is heard unfalteringly in the innermost recesses of its soul. We have earnestly searched our hearts, and though much yet remains to be done, the main features of our Constitution to which we can put our seal with a conscience free of all restraints, doubts or qualms, are to us unequivocally clear.

We have pledged ourselves a Federation with autonomous units, wherein shall be guaranteed fundamental human rights, equality of status and opportunity, and before law, social, economic and political justice, freedom of thought, expression, belief, faith, worship and association.

We have pledged that the Muslims in our State shall be enabled to order their lives in accordance with their faith; but, not forgetful of that perpetual fear of the majority from which Pakistan has delivered millions of Muslims and in humble thanksgiving to God for this deliverance, we have solemnly pledged that our minorities shall enjoy full rights of citizenship and shall freely profess and practise their religions and develop their cultures, and that their legitimate interests and the interests of the backward and depressed classes shall be adequately safeguarded.

We have pledged that the State shall exercise its powers and authority through the chosen representatives of the people. In this we



Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan with President Truman on arrival at the Washington airport on his state visit to U.S.A. on May 3, 1950.

have kept steadily before us the principles of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance and social justice as enunciated by Islam. There is no room here for theocracy, for Islam stands for freedom of conscience, condemns coercion, has no priesthood and abhors the caste system. It believes in the equality of all men and in the right of each individual to enjoy the fruit of his or her effort, enterprise, capacity and skill—provided these be honestly employed. It firmly believes in the right of private ownership, although it frowns on large accumulations of unearned wealth and is greatly concerned over menacing inequalities.

These are articles of faith with us and by them we are irrevocably bound. They are our way of life; and no threat or persuasion, no material peril or ideological allurement can deflect us from the path we have chosen. In proclaiming the Objectives of our Constitution, we have called on Almighty God, to Whom alone sovereignty over the entire universe belongs, to bear witness to our resolve and to guide our footsteps so that the people of Pakistan may prosper and attain their full contribution towards international peace and progress and happiness of mankind.

In our short life as a free nation, we have learned not a little about the world and the times we live in and about ourselves. We have learned that freedom, whether of the individual or of countries, is not everywhere and at all times safe and that the integrity of our own homeland which is dearer to us than our lives will demand of us unceasing vigilance. Our people are deeply distressed at the thought that world-wide destruction might overtake not only the fuller life to which they aspire but the entire human civilization with all its magnificent achievements and illimitable opportunities for good. For youthful countries like ours, which are experiencing but the first pulsations of a free existence, this prospect is profoundly disturbing and not without a touch of irony. We sincerely hope that leaders of world opinion will pursue the path of understanding and will use their wisdom and power to dispel and not to enhance the fears of an apprehensive world. Though freedom has had many births, greed, aggression and intolerance continue alas, to rear their ugly heads. This is the century of great

awakenings in all parts of the globe; and it depends entirely on leaders of the world whether mankind will awaken to the horrors of darkness or to a glorious dawn.

We have learned much about overselves, too. Our State began under a number of handicaps, both natural and man-made, and almost before we had time to unfurl the flag to which we now bear allegiance, millions of refugees—the largest number in world history—crossed our borders and sought shelter within our territories. This put us to a test which might have proved disastrous; instead of which our calamities strengthened the determination of our nation, and the hard work demanded of us fortified our faith. If the test was to come, we are glad that it came early and when we least expected it. For it gave us the measure of our moral and spiritual resources and even in our immature years filled us with courage for the future that has yet to unfold itself. The task that lies before us is truly immense and we are fully aware of it. We are aware that "liberty does not descend upon a people, a people must raise themselves to it". We are aware that recent centuries of progress and advancement in the world have bypassed us, leaving our resources untapped, our capacities unused and our genius inactive. In all humility but with great faith in our destiny, we the people of Pakistan are resolved to make up for lost centuries within the shortest possible time so that we should never be a source of disquiet to our friends or a temptation to the avaricious. Peace is essential for progress but progress is no less essential for peace. As peace and war today are indivisible, so is progress, and in its name we offer our goodwill to all nations, great and small and earnestly ask for theirs.

OUR PROBLEMS AND RESPONSIBILITIES [1]

We began from scratch. In our offices there were few chairs and tables and fewer typewriters. During foreign rule we had remained a backward people except perhaps in the Army where the Muslims had a long soldierly tradition behind them and had won honour for themselves in the two World Wars. In other ways, however, we were not up to the mark. Not many of us were traders—fewer still were bankers or technicians or engineers or doctors.

On top of this, as soon as we hoisted our new flag in our new capital, Karachi, two-way mass migration between India and Pakistan started, accompanied by great sufferings and heart-rending misery. Within a few months, seven million people crossed over from India into our country to seek shelter. Most of them were poor farmers who when they came over had no work, no land, no tools, no cattle. They were frightened and dazed. Some had not eaten for many days. Many families had lost parents or children on the way, with little hope of recovering them.

For a moment we asked ourselves: "Shall we, a new, undeveloped and ill-equipped country, be able to stand this shock?" It was a tremendous test of our belief in ourselves. Even our friends were skeptical and shook their heads. We ourselves, I frankly confess, were not a little nervous, but our national cohesion and the fortitude and the spirit of self-sacrifice of the common man and the common woman surpassed everyone's expectations. We got together, men and women—yes, women too by the hundred, by the thousand, some of whom had never done a public job before—we got together, we found land, tools and work for the refugees, tended the sick and the wounded, we looked to

[1] Extracts from a speech of Liaquat Ali Khan delivered in the Town Hall, May 8, 1950.

our harvests, we sent out our students to work amongst the people, we worked without holidays, set up shops, learnt about imports and exports, did everything that we knew, and learnt what we did not know, as far as was possible within the short time—with the single thought in our mind not to go under and not dishonour the freedom we had so recently won. If I speak of this with some feeling and a certain amount of pride I know that you who love freedom so much will understand and forgive me.

But I will show you the other side of the picture also, for we have a tremendous task ahead of us yet. Pakistan is in the main an agricultural country. Eighty per cent of our people live and work on the land and our methods of agriculture, as in most Asiatic countries, are primitive. We lack education and both our standards of living and our standards of health are low. With industrial advancement and with scientific training we can and must increase the productivity of our land, give our farmer better tools and teach him how to use them, raise his standard of health and education and bring him up to a level of existence which at least does not make him unhappy to compare himself with the more advanced peoples of the world.

Our agriculture is our great asset and our farmers are our great workers. You perhaps know that we are one of the countries that have a favourable trade balance with the dollar area. We have a sound economy. Our Budget in each of the three last years has been a balanced Budget. We have been careful in our purchases—strictly preferring urgent national necessities to other goods. We produce 75 per cent of the world supply of that little known but much sought after plant, called jute. Some of it comes to the dollar area for making burlap and packing material. Further, we export not only cotton but also wheat; for we are lucky in having surplus food.

Some in this country may ask themselves: How does all this concern us? How does Pakistan matter to the world? Why should we take interest in Pakistan except out of sheer curiosity?

Well, in the first place, in the world of today every country matters or should matter to every other country. The nervous system of the modern world is very sensitive. Nothing seems to happen in one part of the world which has not far-reaching repercussions.

Secondly, Pakistan is in Asia—it is the third most populous country in Asia—and I firmly believe that peace and stability in the world today depend very largely on peace and stability in Asia.

Thirdly, Pakistan like many other countries in Asia is underdeveloped. Whilst you, for example, were developing your science and industry which have given your country the great position it occupies today, we were being ruled by other people. Science and industry passed us by. Our people are poor and backward. Large-scale poverty and backwardness in any part of the world are a menace to peace and civilization. We cannot make up for the backwardness of one or two hundred years sufficiently quickly without the co-operation of the more advanced countries who possess advanced technical knowledge.

When worrying about the development of our country, it did not take us long to come to two conclusions. First, that we must exploit all our resources of land and water to the fullest by putting all our own money and energy into the undertaking and by making the investment of foreign capital easy and mutually profitable. Second, that we shall not be able to get on without taking advantage of the technical knowledge and technical skill of the more advanced countries of the world.

In three brief years, we have pursued these aims sincerely and earnestly and to the greatest extent that the circumstances permitted. We are surveying all our resources as quickly as we can. Our foremost problem is the production of power without which we cannot promote either our agriculture or our industry. We are expanding the capacity of our ports and our communications. We are sending our students abroad for scientific education and technological training and we are utilizing the services of competent foreign experts and consultants.

Of our industrial policy, I hope to have an opportunity, later, in this city, to speak in greater detail. But I would like to say that except for a few specified industries we have thrown open the entire field of investment to private enterprise, and we assure the great pioneers of this and other advanced countries of the warmest welcome and of the greatest goodwill on our part, and we hope we shall have their goodwill and co-operation in return. I am glad to be able to say that right at this moment, the Government of Pakistan is in consultation with the Government of the United States for negotiating a Treaty of Friendship and Commerce which will bring us into greater and mutually profitable contact with the industrialists, manufacturers and businessmen of America, and we have every hope that the outcome will be satisfying. We are also looking forward to the implementation of President Truman's Point IV programme, provided it is suitably followed by and supplemented by private investment from your country, as envisaged by President Truman himself. For we believe that this would be the most courageous, the wisest and the most far-reaching method by which your great country can assure the world of its goodwill and its international outlook and make a memorable contribution to the progress of civilisation in parts of the world where progress is most needed.

A question I am sometimes asked is what is the ideology of Pakistan as a State? I will try and tell you that in a few very simple but very clear words. We Muslims believe in God and His supreme Sovereignty. In one of the large towns of Pakistan is an educational institution built by some God-fearing people from your country. In the entrance hall is a marble tablet and on it the words: "Except the Lord build the house, they labour in vain that build it." That is exactly what we believe, whether we build a house or a State. We believe in democracy, that is, in fundamental human rights, including the right of private ownership and the right of the people to be governed by their own freely chosen representatives. We believe in equal citizenship for all whether Muslims or non-Muslims, equality of opportunity, equality before law. We believe that each individual, man or woman, has the right to the fruit of his own labours. Lastly we believe that the fortunate amongst us, whether in wealth or knowledge or physical fitness,

have a moral responsibility towards those who have been unfortunate. These principles we call the Islamic way of life. You can call them by any name you like.

THE ISLAMIC WAY OF LIFE [1]

Our strongest interests, are: firstly, the integrity of Pakistan. Having established an independent State after many years of struggle against forces that either would not or could not see any sense in what we regarded as a life-and-death struggle for us, the last thing that the Pakistanis are likely to acquiesce in is that the slightest dent should be made in the territorial integrity of their country.

Secondly, our culture. The majority of the eighty million people of Pakistan are Muslims. Having achieved independence they are determined to pursue the aims for which they sought independence. The most inspiring of these aims is that they should be free to hold their opinions, worship God in freedom and follow the Islamic way of life. The phrase "Islamic way of life" has on many occasions been misinterpreted by some people. It has been misconstrued variously as religious intolerance, theocratic rule, return to mediaevalism and so on. I wish to make it clear, therefore, that we have no theocratic State in mind. We have in mind no special privileges of citizenship for the Muslim in our country and we abhor the idea of applying any religious or cultural coercion to our non-Muslim nationals. But we firmly believe that our religion has taught us certain principles of social and economic justice, and of human values, whose application in statecraft is bound to promote human welfare. Furthermore Islamic belief in the right of private ownership, with Islamic laws and institutions which tend to level down inequalities of wealth, is the best way of tackling economic disequilibrium not only in our own country but everywhere in the world. These are not new beliefs. The Muslims have held them for over thirteen hundred years. We are determined in our country to apply them afresh to the domain of human affairs. Such

1 Extracts from an address delivered by Liaquat Ali Khan at the National Press Club in Washington, May 4, 1950.

principles held and practised in the name of religion do not mean intolerance or mediaevalism.

Certainly not to our way of thinking. There are certain States in the modern world which though avowedly secular are proud to proclaim that they believe in the Christian way of life and in the pursuit of Christian virtues. They pursue some of the fundamental human values in the name of Christianity. We pursue them in the name of Islam. As followers of Islam, we could not do otherwise.

Thirdly, our desire and our dire need for economic development. I have told you of the basic principles on which we have founded our economic system. Having based it thus we are resolved to use every means in our power and the entire fund of goodwill and co-operation which the rest of the world may choose to offer us, to make up, not for lost years but for lost centuries, in trade, in advanced agriculture and advanced industry.

These are our fundamental interests. Given these any student of international affairs can appreciate our foreign relations and their trends.

Culturally, we feel a natural affiliation with other Muslim countries and our relations with them are of the friendliest. We are keenly interested in the progress and development of the Middle East countries, and in the maintenance of their independence, as they are in ours. When I talk of our friendship with the Middle East countries, I do not wish you to infer that I am talking in terms of any power bloc. I am merely talking of the natural and religious links, the common culture and the identity of economic outlook that exist between the people of these countries and our people—links that will stand the strain of many a test and will I am sure prove a stabilizing factor in Asia.

I have only one last remark to make and I will preface it by requesting you to turn your minds once more to what I said earlier about the Islamic way of life which we wish to pursue as an article of

irrevocable faith. In a world of conflicting ideologies, nations that have recently achieved full sovereignty are likely to be the victims of mental confusion and consequent instability. Is it not, therefore, a matter of supreme satisfaction that at least one nation amongst such nations should not suffer from such confusion and should as a matter of tradition and belief be pledged to clear-cut and easily intelligible principles of democracy and social and economic justice? That, in our peculiar circumstances, this is the surest ideological safeguard against disruption is amply proved by the fact that Pakistan is one of the few countries in the new Asia whose people are unified and surprisingly free from disintegrating doubts and clashes. In an anxious world this is a good beginning for any State to make. What remains, however, is that we should industrially and economically develop fast enough to implement our own pledges to ourselves within a reasonable time. Unencumbered with ideological confusions, that is the task to which we can address and with the help of God are addressing and will continue to address ourselves. I leave it to you to decide whether this is not the best way in which Pakistan can build itself up as a stabilizing force in Asia. I think your answer will not be very different from ours.

THE MEANING OF FREEDOM [1]

What are the demands that our freedom makes on us? Our first duty is to ourselves. I do not say this in any spirit of selfishness or chauvinism. A free people must maintain their own freedom first. Otherwise they disgrace the fair name of free men and women all over the world. But the maintenance of freedom requires constant vigilance. "Liberty does not descend upon a people; a people must raise themselves to it. It is a fruit that must be earned before it can be enjoyed". That freedom means freedom only from foreign domination is an outworn idea. It is not merely governments that should be free but the people themselves who should be free; and no freedom has any real value for the common man or woman unless it also means freedom from want, freedom from disease, freedom from ignorance. This is the main task which confronts us if we are to take our rightful place in the modern world. We cannot hold the clock back and therefore we must go forward at a double pace, bending all our resources and all our energies to this great purpose. Students of history are aware that during the last two or three centuries of foreign domination our people have not kept pace with the march of civilization. It was during these centuries that Western civilization, of which you are the proud torch-bearers, discovered a use of science which, though not new, was so fast in tempo and so vast in its magnitude that it gave civilization a new orientation altogether. This is the phase that for various reasons our people missed. The result is that today we find multitudes emerging as large, free nations in Asia with their material and mental resources utterly undeveloped and with their standards of living so low that the world conscience should not be content to leave them stagnant. Our ancient steadfast faith which is such a source of strength to us on the ideological

[1] Extracts from Liaquat Ali Khan's address delivered after receiving the Honorary degree of Doctor of Laws of the University of Kansas City, May 13, 1950.

front in these modern uneasy times must be wedded to the pioneering virility of modern technology. This is the synthesis we must achieve and achieve quickly, not merely for the sake of progress but for the sake of world peace itself.

What, however, is the role of the Western world in this situation? It is to demonstrate that true democracy is international in its very conception and does not shirk its responsibility for the maintenance of world peace; that it discharges this responsibility by defying not only this or that particular aggressor, but aggression everywhere; and that it has a constructive and not merely a defiant outlook.

Extracts from the citation read by Chancellor Deane W. Malott while conferring the Honorary degree of Doctor of Laws.

A plain man withal, your thought has been plain and straightforward, your action direct and unequivocal, your purpose to give an ethical content, befitting plain people everywhere, to the pressing political and economic conditions of our day. True son of the people, your devotion to the ideal of one world for all men has been exemplary. You have inspired confidence in your people at home, in the people of the Far East and in people throughout the world in the practical ideal of democracy.

As a leader of a civilization rich and creative in modern no less than in ancient history, you bring to us today the privilege of conferring upon you this honorary degree, attesting our admiration and affection for your people, and symbolizing the material, intellectual, and spiritual ties that unite our countries in a common fellowship to walk the road of destiny together.

* * *

Extract from the Prime Minister's address delivered at a dinner given in Beverly Hills by the President of the Motion Picture Association, on May 18, 1950.

The size of the world shrinks year by year. The only way to keep pace with it is not by shrinking our minds and hearts but by enlarging them. Enlarging our minds to know and understand the people who live outside our own frontiers. Enlarging our hearts to appreciate beneath all differences of language and culture—the common humanity, the common destiny and the aspirations for freedom that should make us all one.

Liaquat Ali Khan was awarded the Honorary degree of Doctor of Laws by Columbia University on May 8, 1950. The following is an extract from the citation, read by Provost G. L. Kirk to President Dwight D. Eisenhower.

Mr. President, it is, therefore, in recognition of a brilliant career in public service of his people, and as an outstanding leader of a new State whose people have chosen to follow the path of liberty, that I have the honour to present to you for the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws, honoris causa, His Excellency Liaquat Ali Khan, Prime Minister of Pakistan. In accordance with our long tradition, may I now read the formal citation for this highest award which the University can confer.

Liaquat Ali Khan, administrator and statesman, now Prime Minister of Pakistan; a graduate of universities in both the East and West whose youthful study of the law served as a foundation for a career in public life; whose understanding of the hopes and needs of his fellow citizens soon resulted in his becoming a forceful member of their Legislative Assemblies; whose executive ability was recognized by the late Mr. Jinnah and put to exacting use; whose long political career has not only revealed warm sympathy for the under privileged, but has included a host of practical measures to improve their lot; and, finally, a man whose ability as a stateman has been tested in his country's struggle for independence among the freedom-loving nation of the world".

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan while accepting the Degree said: "I am deeply conscious that my merits are not of a measure which should make me deserving of such high esteem. If I could have convinced myself that I, in my own person, had been singled out for the high distinction which you bestowed upon me, I should have had considerable hesitation in offering myself as the beneficiary of your recognition. But I take courage in the thought that it is not me but my dear country which has prompted your goodwill, and that it is as the servant of my



General Dwight Eisenhower (Left), President of the Columbia University, presenting an Honorary Degree of Doctor of Laws to Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, at a ceremony in the campus of the University.

people that you have thought it fit to extend to me the hand of friendship. With this thought in mind, I dare not but bow to your will and for a brief but great moment become a symbol, however unworthy, of my masters—the people of Pakistan. As Liaquat Ali Khan, within the hallowed walls of this house of learning, I feel humble. As the servant of my people whose destiny has brought me reflected eminence today, I feel proud ...."

"You have accepted me in your midst as the representative of a people who are resolved to uphold democracy and liberty. These words have stirred me deeply. They have reminded me of our way of life, our concepts of social justice and equality, our belief that God is as close to the lowliest amongst us as to the highest—a way of life which we are trying to pursue within the context of our recently achieved independence. They have reminded me of our hard-won liberty and of the vigilance that it will demand of us, in the uneasy and apprehensive world of today".

Miscellaneous Statements

No one except the people of Kashmir can win the battle of Kashmir. This battle cannot be over so long as the people of Kashmir do not decide by the exercise of their vote whether they are with Pakistan or with India. And the day they will make this decision Pakistan shall win this battle.

Provincialism Must Go

Pakistan is not so much in danger of an attack from without as from internal dissension. I regret to say that there are some amongst us who still have provincial bias. This is most dangerous to Pakistan. We should forget that we are Punjabis, Sindhis, Bengalis, Pathans or Baluchis. Everyone of us should consider himself a Pakistani above everything else. Pakistan can be strong only when there is complete unity of thought and action among us. The enemies of Pakistan who wish to start disruption among us should be avoided, if we allow them to cause disruption and to spread fear in us and if we entangle ourselves in petty provincialism, if we lose our determination and courage and if we shirk hard labour and sacrifice, Pakistan will collapse even without any external attack. But I am sure that this will never happen. I have seen for myself that our masses do not shirk work or sacrifice. Their morale is high.

A United Nation

Brothers, God is with us because he is always on the side of the righteous; and the Holy Prophet is your guide. You are united as no other nation is united in the world today. May you always remain on the right path and may there be no division in your ranks. Long live our determination. Long live Pakistan.

The Pakistan Army

Our army is now a national army and I am sure it shall stand guard to the Islamic Democracy and the native soil as effectively as the Quaid-i-Azam had hoped of it. It is also assisting in all other manners possible, the progress and prosperity of the country as is evident from the part it played during and after the floods in the Punjab.

Refugee Problem

The question of rehabilitation of the refugees has very great importance for us; as a matter of fact the country can make no real progress unless and until all the uprooted persons who have come to Pakistan from India are properly rehabilitated.

Concern for the Poor

The object of establishing Pakistan would be lost were the poor and the weak left untended and compelled to spend their short lives in poverty and misery.

Our Economic Doctrine

Individual effort and enterprise is the law of life with us as well as the belief that each man or woman is entitled to the fruits of his or her honest endeavour. The pivot of our economic doctrine is the right of private ownership, but our laws and institutions have behind them the aim of reducing inequalities of wealth. We believe in democracy, that is to say in the right of people to be governed by their own chosen representatives, in social and economic justice and in equal opportunities for all citizens of whatever race or creed they may be. We do not have to present this ideology to our people as a new manifesto. The principles I have stated are part and parcel of Islam and when we say that we want to follow the Islamic way of life, what we mean is that we could not possibly do otherwise. These are the principles that were embodied in the concept of Pakistan when we fought for it.

Pakistan's Aim

I do not need to remind you that there is no democracy in Asia more determined to lead its people along the path of development and progress. We attach the greatest importance to economic and industrial development—mainly through individual initiative, private enterprise and the goodwill and co-operation of free and peaceful nations who have the technical skill and technical knowledge to help in the progress of mankind.

Advice to Students

Throughout my tour students have inquired of me how best they could serve their country. To them my reply has been that they should work hard and not waste their time in politics, during their educational career. At the moment, we very much need hard-working, able young men. Those students who are interested in politics have the whole of their life for it. At this time it is imperative totally for the student as also for every one that he should work honestly and diligently.

Hard Work

Pakistan can be made strong if every Pakistani whether he is a Government servant or a trader, a labourer or an agriculturist works hard and is willing to make sacrifices for his country. It is imperative for everyone that he should work day and night. We should never think of rest or leisure so long as Pakistan is not made strong. I have myself resolved to serve Pakistan to my last breath in whatsoever capacity it may be. I have no friends nor have I any enemies. Whosoever is the friend of Pakistan is dear to me and is my friend. Whosoever is an enemy of Pakistan is my enemy too. I consider it my duty and expect every Pakistani to consider it his duty to work for Pakistan every day, every minute, every hour.

Work for World Peace

For the sake of world peace, for the sake of world civilization, Asia must be made stable, but it cannot be made stable unless dis-

content is removed and the germs of disruption are killed by better and cleaner living which means no more and no less than enabling the peoples of Asia to enjoy the fullest advantages of freedom and democracy. In this situation we consider the role of Pakistan to be that of a stabilising factor in a backward and discontented part of the world. We hope to be able to play this role successfully by our strong faith in God, in democracy and in our own unity, by the resources of our lands and waters and by our will to work. On these points Pakistan stands firm.

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Advice to Students

[illegible]

Hard Work

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

PART FOUR

APPENDICES —— HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS

APPENDIX I

Address

Presented to H. E. Lord Minto, Viceroy and Governor-General of India, by a Deputation of the Muslim Community of India on 1st October, 1906, at Simla.

May it please your Excellency,

Availing ourselves of the permission accorded to us, we, the undersigned nobles, jagirdars, taluqdars, lawyers, zemindars, merchants and others representing a large body of the Mohammedan subjects of His Majesty the King-Emperor in different parts of India, beg most respectfully to approach your Excellency with the following address for your favourable consideration.

We fully realise and appreciate the incalculable benefits conferred by British rule on the teeming millions belonging to diverse races and professing diverse religions who form the population of the vast continent of India, and have every reason to be grateful for the peace, security, personal freedom and liberty of worship that we now enjoy. Further, from the wise and enlightened character of the Government, we have every reasonable ground for anticipating that these benefits will be progressive and that India will in the future occupy an increasingly important position in the comity of nations.

One of the most important characteristics of British policy in India is the increasing deference that has so far as possible been paid from the first to the views and wishes of the people of the country in matters affecting their interests, with due regard always to the diversity of race and religion which forms such an important feature of all Indian progress.

Claims of the Community

Beginning with the confidential and unobtrusive method of consulting influential members of important communities in different parts of the country, this principle was gradually extended by the recognition of the right of recognised political or commercial organisations to communicate to the authorities their criticisms and views on measures of public importance, and finally by the nomination and election of direct representatives of the people in Municipalities, District Boards, and above all in the Legislative Chambers of the country. This last element is, we understand, about to be dealt with by the Committee appointed by your Excellency with the view of giving it further extension, and it is with reference mainly to our claim to a fair share in such extended representation and some other matters of importance affecting the interests of our community, that we have ventured to approach your Excellency on the present occasion.

Past Traditions

The Mohammedans of India number, according to the census taken in the year 1901, over sixty-two million or between one-fifth and one-fourth of the total population of His Majesty's Indian dominions, and if a reduction be made for the uncivilised portions of the community enumerated under the heads of animist and other minor religions, as well as for those classes who are ordinarily classified as Hindus but properly speaking are not Hindus at all, the proportion of Mohammedans to the Hindu majority becomes much larger. We, therefore, desire to submit that under any system of representation extended or limited a community in itself more numerous than the entire population of any first class European power except Russia may justly lay claim to adequate recognition as an important factor in the State.

We venture, indeed, with your Excellency's permission to go a step further, and urge that the position accorded to the Mohammedan community in any kind of representation, direct or indirect, and in all other ways affecting their status and influence should be commensurate, not merely with their numerical strength, but also with their political

importance and the value of the contribution which they make to the defence of the Empire, and we also hope that your Excellency will in this connection be pleased to give due consideration to the position which they occupied in India a little more than hundred years ago and of which the traditions have naturally not faded from their minds.

The Mohammedans of India have always placed implicit reliance on the sense of justice and love of fair dealing that have characterised their rulers, and have in consequence abstained from pressing their claims by methods that might prove at all embarrassing, but earnestly as we desire that the Mohammedans of India should not in the future depart from that excellent and time-honoured tradition, recent events have stirred up feelings, especially among the younger generation of Mohammedans, which might, in certain circumstances and under certain contingencies, easily pass beyond the control of temperate counsel and sober guidance.

We, therefore, pray that the representations we herewith venture to submit, after a careful consideration of the views and wishes of a large number of our co-religionists in all parts of India, may be favoured with your Excellency's earnest attention.

European Representative Institutions

We hope your Excellency will pardon our stating at the outset that representative institutions of the European type are new to the Indian people ; many of the most thoughtful members of our community in fact consider that the greatest care, forethought and caution will be necessary if they are to be successfully adapted to the social, religious and political conditions obtaining in India, and that in the absence of such care and caution their adoption is likely, among other evils,to place our national interests at the mercy of an unsympathetic majority. Since, however, our rulers have, in pursuance of the immemorial instincts and traditions, found it expedient to give these institutions an increasingly important place in the Government of the country, we Mohammedans cannot any longer in justice to our own national interests hold aloof from participating in the conditions to which their policy has given rise.

While, therefore, we are bound to acknowledge with gratitude that such representation as the Mohammedans of India have hitherto enjoyed has been due to a sense of justice and fairness on the part of your Excellency and your illustrious predecessor in office and the heads of Local Governments by whom the Mohammedan members of Legislative Chambers have almost without exception been nominated, we cannot help observing that the representation thus accorded to us has necessarily been inadequate to our requirements, and has not always carried with it the approval of those whom the nominees were selected to represent. This state of things was probably under existing circumstances unavoidable, for while on the one hand the number of nominations reserved to the Viceroy and Local Governments has necessarily been strictly limited, the selection on the other hand of really representative men has, in the absence of any reliable method of ascertaining the direction of popular choice, been far from easy.

The Results of Election

As for the results of election, it is most unlikely that the name of any Mohammedan candidate will ever be submitted for the approval of Government by the electoral bodies as now constituted unless he is in sympathy with the majority in all matters of importance. Nor can we in fairness find fault with the desire of our non-Muslim fellow-subjects to take full advantage of their strength and vote only for members of their own community, or for persons who, if not Hindus, are expected to vote with the Hindu majority on whose goodwill they would have to depend for their future re-election. It is true that we have many and important interests in common with our Hindu fellow-countrymen and it will always be a matter of the utmost satisfaction to us to see these interests safeguarded by the presence in our Legislative Chambers of able supporters of these interests, irrespective of their nationality.

A Distinct Community

Still, it cannot be denied that we Mohammedans are a distinct community with additional interests of our own which are not shared

by other communities, and these have hitherto suffered from the fact that they have not been adequately represented. Even in the provinces in which the Mohammedans constitute a distinct majority of the population, they have too often been treated as though they were inappreciably small political factors that might without unfairness be neglected. This has been the case, to some extent, in the Punjab, but in a more marked degree in Sind and in Eastern Bengal.

Before formulating our views with regard to the election of representatives, we beg to observe that the political importance of a community to a considerable extent gains strength or suffers detriment according to the position that the members of that community occupy in the service of the State. If, as is unfortunately the case with the Mohammedans, they are not adequately represented in this manner, they lose in the prestige and influence which are justly their due.

Employment in Government Service

We, therefore, pray that Government will be graciously pleased to provide that both in the gazetted and the subordinate and ministerial services of all Indian provinces a due proportion of Mohammedans shall always find place. Orders of like import have at times been issued by Local Governments in some provinces, but have not, unfortunately, in all cases been strictly observed on the ground that qualified Mohammedans were not forthcoming. This allegation, however well-founded it may have been at one time, is, we submit, no longer tenable now, and wherever the will to employ them is not wanting the supply of qualified Mohammedans, we are happy to be able to assure your Excellency, is equal to the demand.

The Competitive Element

Since, however, the number of qualified Mohammedans has increased, a tendency is unfortunately perceptible to reject them on the ground of relatively superior qualifications having to be given precedence. This introduces something like the competitive element in its worst form, and we may be permitted to draw your Excellency's attention

to the political significance of the monopoly of all official influence by one class. We may also point out in this connection that the efforts of Mohammedan educationists have from the very outset of the educational movement among them been strenuously directed towards the development of character, and this we venture to think is of greater importance than mere mental alertness in the making of good public servants.

Mohammedans on the Bench

We venture to submit that the generality of Mohammedans in all parts of India feel aggrieved that Mohammedan judges are not more frequently appointed to the High Courts and Chief Courts of Judicature. Since the creation of these Courts only three Mohammedan lawyers have held these honourable appoinments, all of whom have fully justified their elevation to the Bench. At the present moment there is not a single Mohammedan Judge sitting on the Bench of any of these Courts, while there are three Hindu Judges in the Calcutta High Court, where the proportion of Mohammedans in the population is very large, and two in the Chief Court of the Punjab, where the Mohammedans form the majority of the population. It is not, therefore, an extravagant request on our part that a Mohammedan should be given a seat on the Bench of each of the High Courts and Chief Courts. Qualified Mohammedan lawyers eligible for these appointments can always be found, if not in one province then in another. We beg permission further to submit that the presence on the Bench of these Courts of a Judge learned in the Mohammedan Law will be a source of considerable strength to the administration of justice.

Municipal Representation

As Municipal and District Boards have to deal with important local interests affecting to a great extent the health, comfort, educational needs and even the religious concerns of the inhabitants, we shall, we hope, be pardoned if we solicit for a moment your Excellency's attention to the position of Mohammedans thereon before passing to higher concerns. These institutions form, as it were, the initial rungs in the ladder of self-government and it is here that the principle of represen-

tation is brought home intimately to the intelligence of the people, yet the position of Mohammedans on these Boards is not at present regulated by any guiding principle capable of general application, and practice varies in different localities. The Aligarh Municipality, for example, is divided into six wards and each ward returns one Hindu and one Mohammedan Commissioner, and the same principles we understand are adopted in a number of Municipalities in the Punjab and elsewhere, but in a good many places the Mohammedan tax-payers are not adequately represented. We would, therefore, respectfully suggest that the local authority should in every case be required to declare the number of Hindus and Mohammedans entitled to seats on Municipal and District Boards, such proportion to be determined in accordance with the numerical strength, social status, local influence and special requirements of either community. Once their relative proportion is authoritatively determined, we would suggest that either community should be allowed severally to return their own representatives as is the practice in many towns in the Punjab.

Fellows of Universities

We would also suggest that the Senates and Syndicates of Indian Universities might be similarly dealt with, that is to say, there should, so far as possible, be an authoritative declaration of the proportion in which Mohammedans are entitled to be represented in either body.

Nomination to Provincial Councils

We now proceed to the consideration of the question of our representation in the Legislative Chambers of the country. Beginning with the Provincial Councils, we would most respectfully suggest that as in the case of Municipalities and District Boards the proportion of Mohammedan representatives entitled to seats should be determined and declared with due regard to the important consideration which we have ventured to point out in paragraph 5 of this address, and that the important Mohammedan land-owners, lawyers, merchants and representatives of other important interests, the Mohammedan members of District Boards and Municipalities and the Mohammedan graduates of universi-

ties of a certain standing, say five years, should be formed into Electoral Colleges and be authorised, in accordance with such rules of procedure as your Excellency's Government may be pleased to prescribe in that behalf, to return the number of members that may be declared to be eligible.

The Viceroy's Council

With regard to the Imperial Legislative Council whereon the due representation of Mohammedan interests is a matter of vital importance, we crave leave to suggest (1) that in the cadre of the Council the proportion of Mohammedan representatives should not be determined on the basis of the numerical strength of the community, and that in any case the Mohammedan representatives should never be an ineffective minority; (2) that as far as possible, appointment by election should be given preference over nomination; (3) that for the purposes of choosing Mohammedan members, Mohammedan landowners, lawyers, merchants and representatives of other important interests of a status to be subsequently determined by your Excellency's Government, Mohammedan members of the Provincial Councils and Mohammedan fellows of universities should be invested with electoral powers to be exercised in accordance with such procedure as may be prescribed by your Excellency's Government in that behalf.

The Executive Council

An impression has lately been gaining ground that one or more Indian Members may be appointed on the Executive Council of the Viceroy. In the event of such appointment being made we beg that the claims of Mohammedans in that connection may not be overlooked. More than one Mohammedan, we venture to say, will be found in the country fit to serve with distinction in that august chamber.

A Mohammedan University

We beg to approach your Excellency on a subject which must closely affect our national welfare. We are convinced that our aspirations as a community and our future progress are largely dependent on

the foundation of a Mohammedan University which will be the centre of our religious and intellectual life. We, therefore, most respectfully pray that your Excellency will take steps to help us in an undertaking in which our community is so deeply interested.

In conclusion, we beg to assure your Excellency that in assisting the Mohammedan subjects of His Majesty at this stage in the development of Indian affairs in the directions indicated in the present address, your Excellency will be strengthening the basis of their unswerving loyalty to the Throne and laying the foundation of their political advancement and national prosperity, and your Excellency's name will be remembered with gratitude by their posterity for generations to come, and we feel confident that your Excellency will be gracious enough to give due consideration to our prayers. We have the honour to subscribe ourselves, Your Excellency's most obedient and humble servants.

APPENDIX II

Jinnah's Fourteen Points, March 28, 1929

The following draft resolution circulated to members of the Muslim League embodies the points :

Whereas the basic idea on which the All-Parties Conference was called in being and a Convention summoned at Calcutta during Christmas week 1928, was that a scheme of reforms should be formulated and accepted and ratified by the foremost political organization in the country as a National Pact; and whereas the Report was adopted by the Indian National Congress only constitutionally for the one year ending 31st December 1929, and in the event of the British Parliament not accepting it within the time limit, the Congress stands committed to the policy and programme of complete independence by resort to civil disobedience and non-payment of taxes; and whereas the attitude taken up by the Hindu Mahasabha from the commencement through their representatives at the Convention was nothing short of an ultimatum that, if a single word in the Nehru Report in respect of the communal settlement was changed, they would immediately withdraw their support to it; and whereas the National Liberal Federation delegates at the Convention took up an attitude of benevolent neutrality, and subsequently in their open session at Allahabad, adopted a non-committal policy with regard to the Hindu-Muslim differences; and whereas the non-Brahmin and depressed classes are entirely opposed to it; and whereas the reasonable and moderate proposals put forward by the delegates of the All-India Muslim League at the Convention in modification were not accepted, the Muslim League is unable to accept the Nehru Report.

The League after anxious and careful consideration, most earnestly and emphatically lays down that no scheme for the future

constitution of the Government of India will be acceptable to Musalmans of India until and unless the following basic principles are given effect to and provisions are embodied therein to safeguard their rights and interests :

(1) The form of the future constitution should be federal with the residuary powers vested in the provinces.

(2) A uniform measure of autonomy shall be granted to all provinces.

(3) All legislatures in the country and other elected bodies shall be constituted on the definite principle of adequate and effective representation of minorities in every province without reducing the majority in any province to a minority or even equality.

(4) In the Central Legislature, Musalman representation shall not be less than one third.

(5) Representation of communal groups shall continue to be by means of separate electorates as at present : provided it shall be open to any community, at any time, to abandon its separate electorate in favour of joint electorate.

(6) Any territorial redistribution that might at any time be necessary shall not in any way, effect the Muslim majority in the Punjab, Bengal and North-West Frontier Province.

(7) Full religious liberty i.e., liberty of belief, worship and observance, propaganda, association and education, shall be guaranteed to all communities.

(8) No bill or resolution or any part thereof shall be passed in any legislature or any other elected body if three-fourths of the members of any community in that particular body oppose such a bill, resolution or part thereof on the ground that it would be injurious to the interests of that commuuity or in the alternative, such other method is devised as may be found feasible and practicable to deal with such cases.

(9) Sind should be separated from the Bombay Presidency.

(10) Reforms should be introduced in the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan on the same footing as in other provinces.

(11) Provision should be made in the constitution giving Muslims an adequate share alongwith the other Indians, in all the services of the State and in local self-governing bodies having due regard to the requirements of efficiency.

(12) The constitution should embody adequate safeguards for the protection of Muslim culture and for the protection and promotion of Muslim education, language, religion, personal laws and Muslim charitable institutions and for their due share in the grants-in-aid given by the State and by local self-governing bodies.

(13) No cabinet, either central or provincial, should be formed without there being a proportion of at least one-third Muslim Ministers.

(14) No change shall be made in the constitution by the Central Legislature except with the concurrence of the States constituting the Indian Federation.

The draft resolution also mentions an alternative to some of the above provisions in the following terms :

That, in the present circumstances, representation of Musalmans in the different legislatures of the country and other elected bodies through the separate electorates is inevitable and further, the Government being pledged over and over again not to disturb this franchise so granted to the Muslim community since 1909 till such time as the Musalmans choose to abandon it, the Musalmans will not consent to joint electorates unless Sind is actually constituted into a separate province and reforms in fact are introduced in the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan on the same footing as in other provinces.

Further, it is provided that there shall be reservation of seats according to the Muslim population in the various provinces; but where Musalmans are in a majority they shall not contest more seats than their population warrants.

The question of excess representation of Musalmans over and above their population in Provinces where they are in a minority is to be considered hereafter.

APPENDIX III

The Pakistan Resolution, March 23, 1940

(1) While approving and endorsing the action taken by the Council and the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, as indicated in their resolutions dated the 27th of August, 17th and 18th of September and 22nd of October, 1939, and 3rd of February 1940, on the constitutional issue, this session of the All-India Muslim League emphatically reiterates that the scheme of Federation embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935 is totally unsuited to, and unworkable in the peculiar conditions of this country and is altogether unacceptable to Muslim India.

(2) It further records its emphatic view that while the declaration dated the 18th of October, 1939, made by the Viceroy on behalf of His Majesty's Government is reassuring in so far as it declares that the policy and plan on which the Government of India Act, 1935 is based will be reconsidered in consultation with the various parties, interests and communities in India, Muslim India will not be satisfied unless the whole constitutional plan is reconsidered *de novo* and that no revised plan would be acceptable to the Muslims unless it is framed with their approval and consent.

(3) Resolved that it is the considered view of this session of the All-India Muslim League that no constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to Muslims unless it is designed on the following basic principle, *viz.*, that geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted, with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority, as in the North-Western and Eastern Zones of India, should be grouped to constitute 'Independent

States' in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign.

That adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards should be specifically provided in the constitution for minorities in the units and in the regions for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them; and in other parts of India where the Musalmans are in a minority, adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards shall be specifically provided in the constitution for them and other minorities for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them.

That this session further authorises the Working Committee to frame a scheme of constitution in accordance with these basic principles, providing for the assumption finally by the respective regions of all powers such as defence, external affairs, communications, customs and such other matters as may be necessary.

APPENDIX IV

Extract from Jinnah's speech supporting the Resolution of March, 1940

The problem in India is not of an inter-communal character but manifestly of an international one, and it must be treated as such. So long as this basic and fundamental truth is not realised, any Constitution that may be built will result in disaster and will prove destructive and harmful not only to the Musalmans but to the British and Hindus also. If the British Government are really in earnest and sincere to secure peace and happiness of the people of this Sub-continent, the only course open to us all is to allow the major nations separate homelands by dividing India into 'autonomous national states'. There is no reason why these states should be antagonistic to each other. On the other hand the rivalry and the natural desire and efforts on the part of one to dominate the social order and establish political supremacy over the other in the government of the country will disappear. It will lead more towards natural goodwill by international pacts between them, and they can live in complete harmony with their neighbours. This will lead further to a friendly settlement all the more easily with regard to minorities by reciprocal arrangements and adjustments between Muslim India and Hindu India, which will far more adequately and effectively safeguard the rights and interests of Muslims and various other minorities.

It is extremely difficult to appreciate why our Hindu friends fail to understand the real nature of Islam and Hinduism. They are not religions in the strict sense of the word, but are, in fact, different and distinct social orders, and it is a dream that the Hindus and Muslims can ever evolve a common nationality, and this misconception of one

Indian nation has gone far beyond the limits and is the cause of most of our troubles and will lead India to destruction if we fail to revise our notions in time. The Hindus and Muslims belong to two different religious philosophies, social customs, literatures. They neither intermarry nor inter-dine together and, indeed, they belong to two different civilizations which are based mainly on conflicting ideas and conceptions. Their concepts on life and of life are different. It is quite clear that Hindus and Musalmans derive their inspiration from different sources of history. They have different epics, different heroes, and different episodes. Very often the hero of one is a foe of the other and, likewise, their victories and defeats overlap. To yoke together two such nations under a single state, one as a numerical minority and the other as a majority, must lead to growing discontent and final destruction of any fabric that may be so built up for the government of such a state.

Musalmans are not a minority as it is commonly known and understood. One has only got to look around. Even today, according to the British map of India, 4 out of 11 provinces, where the Muslims dominate more or less, are functioning notwithstanding the decision of the Hindu Congress High Command to non-co-operate and prepare for civil disobedience. Musalmans are a nation according to any definition of a nation, and they must have their homelands, their territory and their state. We wish to live in peace and harmony with our neighbours as a free and independent people. We wish our people to develop to the fullest our spiritual, cultural, economic, social and political life in a way that we think best and in consonance with our own ideals and according to the genius of our people. Honesty demands and the vital interests of millions of our people impose a sacred duty upon us to find an honourable and peaceful solution, which would be just and fair to all. But at the same time we cannot be moved or diverted from our purpose and objective by threats or intimidations. We must be prepared to face all difficulties and consequences, make all the sacrifices that may be required of us to achieve the goal we have set in front of us.

APPENDIX V

Cripps Proposals March, 30, 1942

His Majesty's Government therefore make the following declaration :

(a) Immediately upon the cessation of hostilities, steps shall be taken to set up in India, in the manner described hereafter, an elected body charged with the task of framing a new Constitution for India.

(b) Provision shall be made, as set out below, for the participation of the Indian States in the constitution-making body.

(c) His Majesty's Government undertake to accept and implement forthwith the constitution so framed subject only to :

(i) the right of any Province of British India that is not prepared to accept the new constitution to retain its present constitutional position, provision being made for its subsequent accession if it so decides. With such non-acceding Provinces, should they so desire, His Majesty's Government will be prepared to agree upon a new constitution, giving them the same full status as Indian Union, and arrived at by a procedure analogous to that here laid down.

(ii) the signing of a treaty which shall be negotiated between His Majesty's Government and the constitution-making body. This treaty will cover all necessary matters arising out of the complete transfer of responsibility from British to Indian hands; it will make provision in accordance with the undertakings given by His Majesty's government, for the protection of racial and religious minorities; but will not impose any restriction on the power of Indian Union

to decide in the future its relationship to the other member States of the British Commonwealth.

(iii) Whether or not an Indian State elects to adhere to the constitution, it will be necessary to negotiate a revision of its treaty arrangements, so far as this may be required in the new situation.

(d) The constitution-making body shall be composed as follows, unless the leaders of Indian opinion in the principal communities agree upon some other form before the end of hostilities :

Immediately upon the result being known of the Provincial elections which will be necessary at the end of hostilities, the entire membership of the Lower Houses of the Provincial Legislatures shall, as a single electoral college, proceed to the election of the constitution-making body by the system of proportional representation. This new body shall be in number about one-tenth of the number of the electoral college.

Indian States shall be invited to appoint representatives in the same proportion to their total population as in the case of the representatives of British India as a whole, and with the same powers as the British Indian members.

(e) During the critical period which now faces India and until the new constitution can be framed, His Majesty's Government must inevitably bear the responsibility for and retain control and direction of the defence of India as part of their world war effort, but the task of organizing to the full the military, moral and material resources of India must be the responsibility of the Government of India with the co-operation of the peoples of India. His Majesty's Government desire and invite the immediate and effective participation of the leaders of the principal sections of the Indian people in the counsels of their country, of the Commonwealth and of the United Nations. Thus they will be enabled to give their active and constructive help in the discharge of a task which is vital and essential for the future freedom of India.

APPENDIX VI

Cabinet Mission Proposals, May 16, 1946

15.........

We recommend that the Constitution should take the following basic form :

(1) There should be a Union of India, embracing both British India and the States which should deal with the following subjects: Foreign Affairs, Defence, and Communications; and should have the powers necessary to raise the finances required for the above subjects :

(2) The Union should have an Executive and a Legislature constituted from British Indian and States' representatives. Any question raising a major communal issue in the legislature should require for its decision a majority of the representatives present and voting of each of the two major communities as well as a majority of all the members present and voting.

(3) All subjects other than the Union subjects and all residuary powers should vest in the Provinces.

(4) The States will retain all subjects and powers other than those ceded to the Union.

(5) Provinces should be free to form groups with Executives and Legislatures, and each group could determine the Provincial subjects to be taken in common.

(6) The Constitutions of the Union and of the Groups should contain a provision whereby any Province could by a majority vote of its Legislative Assembly call for a reconsideration of the terms of the Constitution after an initial period of ten years and at ten-yearly intervals thereafter.

16. It is not our object to lay out the details of a Constitution on the above programme but to set in motion machinery whereby a Constitution can be settled by Indians for Indians.

It has been necessary, however, for us to make this recommendation as to the broad basis of the future Constitution because it became clear to us in the course of our negotiations that not until that had been done was there any hope of getting the two major communities to join in the setting up of the constitution-making machinery.

17. We now indicate the constitution-making machinery which we propose should be brought into being forthwith in order to enable a new Constitution to be worked out.

18. In forming any assembly to decide a new constitutional structure the first problem is to obtain as broad-based and accurate a representation of the whole population as is possible. The most satisfactory method obviously would be by election based on adult franchise, but any attempt to introduce such a step now would lead to a wholly unacceptable delay in the formulation of the new constitution. The only practicable course is to utilize the recently elected Provincial Legislative Assemblies as electing bodies. There are, however, two factors in their composition which make this difficult. First, the numerical strengths of Provincial Legislative Assemblies do not bear the same proportion to the total population in each Province. Thus, Assam, with a population of 10 million, has a Legislative Assembly of 108 members, while Bengal, with a population six times as large, has an Assembly of only 250. Secondly, owing to the weightage given to minorities by the Communal Award, the strengths of the several communities in each Provincial Legislative Assembly are not in proportion to their numbers in the Province. Thus the number of seats reserved for Muslims in the Bengal Legislative Assembly is only 48 per cent of the total, although they form 55 per cent of the Provincial population. After a most careful consideration of the various methods by which these points might be corrected, we have come to the conclusion that the fairest and most practicable plan would be:—

(a) to allot to each Province a total number of seats proportional to its population, roughly in the ratio of one to a million, as the nearest substitute for representation by adult suffrage;

(b) to divide this provincial allocation of seats between the main communities in each province in proportion to their population;

(c) to provide that the representatives allocated to each community in a Province shall be elected by members of that community in its Legislative Assembly.

We think that for these purposes it is sufficient to recognize only three main communities in India, General, Muslim and Sikh, the 'General' community including all persons who are not Muslims or Sikhs. As smaller Minorities would upon a population basis have little or no representation, since they would lose the weightage which assures them seats in Provincial Legislatures, we have made the arrangements set out in paragraph 20 below to give them a full representation upon all matters of special interest to Minorities.

19. (i).........[1]

(ii) It is the intention that the States would be given in the final Constituent Assembly appropriate representation which would not, on the basis of the calculation of population adopted for British India, exceed 93; but the method of selection will have to be determined by consultation. The States would in the preliminary stage be represented by a Negotiating Committee.

(iii) Representatives thus chosen shall meet at New Delhi as soon as possible.

(iv) A preliminary meeting will be held at which the general order of business will be decided, a chairman and other officers elected and an Advisory Committee (see paragraph 20) on rights of

[1] The omitted portion in paragraph 19 gives the grouping of the provinces into sections as: (A) Madras, Bombay, United Provinces, Bihar, Central Provinces and Orissa; (B) Punjab, North-West Frontier Provinces and Sind and (C) Bengal and Assam. It also gives the number of seats allocated community-wise to each province.

citizens, Minorities and Tribal and Excluded Areas set up. Thereafter the Provincial representatives will divide up into three Sections shown under A,B and C in the Table of Representation in sub-paragraph (i) of this paragraph.

(v) These Sections shall proceed to settle Provincial Constitutions for the Provinces included in each Section and shall also decide whether any group constitution shall be set up for those Provinces and if so with what Provincial subjects the group should deal. Provinces should have power to opt out of groups in accordance with the provisions of sub-clause (viii) below.

(vi) The representatives of the Sections and the Indian States shall reassemble for the purpose of setting the Union Constitution.

(vii) In the Union Constituent Assembly resolutions varying the provisions of paragraph 15 above or raising any major communal issue shall require a majority of the representatives present and voting of each of the two major communities. The Chairman of the Assembly shall decide which, if any, resolutions raise major communal issues and shall, if so requested by a majority of the representatives of either of the major communities, consult the Federal Court before giving his decision.

(viii) As soon as the new constitutional arrangements have come into operation it shall be open to any Province to elect to come out of any group in which it has been placed. Such a decision shall be taken by the Legislature of the Province after the first general election under the new Constitution.

20. The Advisory Committee on the rights of citizens, Minorities and Tribal and Excluded Areas will contain due representation of the interests affected and their function will be to report to the Union Constituent Assembly upon the list of fundamental rights, clauses for protecting Minorities, and a scheme for the administration of Tribal and Excluded Areas, and to advise whether these rights should be incorporated in the Provincial, the Group or the Union Constitutions.

21. His Excellency the Viceroy will forthwith request the Provincial

Legislatures to proceed with the election of their representatives and the States to set up a negotiating Committee.

It is hoped that the process of constitution-making can proceed as rapidly as the complexities of the task permit so that the interim period may be as short as possible.

22. It will be necessary to negotiate a treaty between the Union Constituent Assembly and the United Kingdom to provide for certain matters arising out of the transfer of power.

APPENDIX VII

MOUNTBATTEN AWARD

Text of His Majesty's Government's Plan, dated June 3, 1947

1. On February 20, 1947, His Majesty's Government announced their intention of transferring power in British India to Indian hands by June 1948. His Majesty's Government had hoped that it would be possible for the major parties to co-operate in the working-out of the Cabinet Mission's Plan of May 16, 1946, and evolve for India a Constitution acceptable to all concerned. This hope has not been fulfilled.

2. The majority of the representatives of the Provinces of Madras, Bombay, the United Provinces, Bihar, Central Provinces and Berar, Assam, Orissa and the North-West Frontier Province, and the representatives of Delhi, Ajmer-Merwara and Coorg have already made progress in the task of evolving a new Constitution. On the other hand, the Muslim League party, including in it a majority of the representatives of Bengal, the Punjab and Sind, as also the representative of British Baluchistan, has decided not to participate in the Constituent Assembly.

3. It has always been the desire of His Majesty's Government that power should be transferred in accordance with the wishes of the Indian people themselves. This task would have been greatly facilitated if there had been agreement among the Indian political parties. In the absence of such agreement, the task of devising a method by which the wishes of the Indian people can be ascertained has devolved upon

His Majesty's Government. After full consultation with political leaders in India, His Majesty's Government have decided to adopt for this purpose the plan set out below. His Majesty's Government wish to make it clear that they have no intention of attempting to frame any ultimate Constitution for India; this is a matter for the Indians themselves. Nor is there anything in this plan to preclude negotiations between communities for a united India.

An Issue to be Decided

4. It is not the intention of His Majesty's Government to interrupt the work of the existing Constituent Assembly. Now that provision is made for certain provinces specified below, His Majesty's Government trust that, as a consequence of this announcement, the Muslim League representatives of those provinces, a majority of whose representatives are already participating in it, will now take their due share in its labours. At the same time, it is clear that any constitution framed by this Assembly cannot apply to those parts of the country which are unwilling to accept it. His Majesty's Government are satisfied that the procedure outlined below embodies the best practical method of ascertaining the wishes of the people of such areas on the issue whether their Constitution is to be framed :

(a) in the existing Constituent Assembly; or

(b) in a new and separate Constituent Assembly consisting of the representatives of those areas which decide not to participate in the existing Constituent Assembly.

When this has been done, it will be possible to determine the authority or authorities to whom power should be transferred.

Bengal and the Punjab

5. The Provincial Legislative Assemblies of Bengal and the Punjab (excluding the European members) will, therefore, each be asked to meet in two parts, one representing the Muslim majority districts and the other the rest of the province. For the purpose of determining the

population of districts, the 1941 census figures will be taken as authoritative. The Muslim majority districts in these two provinces are set out in the Annexture to this announcement.

6. The members of the two parts of each Legislative Assembly sitting separately will be empowered to vote whether or not the province should be partitioned. If a simple majority of either part decides in favour of partition, division will take place and arrangements will be made accordingly.

7. Before the question as to the partition is decided, it is desirable that the representatives of each part should know in advance which Constituent Assembly the Province as a whole would join in the event of the two parts subsequently deciding to remain united. Therefore, if any member of either Legislative Assembly so demands, there shall be held a meeting of all members of the Legislative Assembly (other than Europeans) at which a decision will be taken on the issue as to which Constituent Assembly the Province as a whole would join if it were decided by the two parts to remain united.

8. In the event of partition being decided, on the issue of partition the Legislative Assembly will, on behalf of the areas they represent, decide which of the alternatives in paragraph 4 above to adopt.

9. For the immediate purpose of deciding upon, each part of the Legislative members of the Legislative Assemblies of Bengal and the Punjab will sit in two parts according to Muslim majority districts (as laid down in the Annexure) and non-Muslim majority districts. This is only a preliminary step of a purely temporary nature as it is evident that for the purposes of a final partition of these provinces a detailed investigation of boundary question will be needed, and as soon as a decision involving partition has been taken for either province, a Boundary Commission will be set up by the Governor-General, the membership and terms of reference of which will be settled in consultation with those concerned. It will be instructed to demarcate the boundaries of the two parts of the Punjab on the basis of ascertaining

the contiguous majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslims. It will also be instructed to take into account other factors. Similar instructions will be given to the Bengal Boundary Commission. Until the report of a Boundary Commission has been put into effect, the provisional boundaries indicated in the Annexure will be used.

Sind

10. The Legislative Assembly of Sind (excluding the European members) will at a special meeting also take its own decision on the alternatives in paragraph 4 above.

North-West Frontier Province

11. The position of the North-West Frontier Province is exceptional. Two of the three representatives of this province are already participating in the existing Constituent Assembly. But it is clear, in view of its geographical situation and other considerations, that if the whole or any part of the Punjab decides not to join the existing Constituent Assembly, it will be necessary to give the North-West Frontier Province an opportunity to reconsider its position. Accordingly, in such an event, a referendum will be made to the electors of the present Legislative Assembly in the North-West Frontier Province to choose which of the alternatives mentioned in paragraph 4 above they wish to adopt. The referendum will be held under the aegis of the Governor-General and in consultation with the Provincial Government.

British Baluchistan

12. British Baluchistan has elected a member, but he has not taken his seat in the existing Constituent Assembly. In view of its geographical situation, this province will also be given an opportunity to reconsider its position and to choose which of the alternatives in paragraph 4 above to adopt. His Excellency the Governor-General is examining how this can most appropriately be done.

Assam

13. Though Assam is predominantly a non-Muslim province, the district of Sylhet which is contiguous to Bengal is predominantly

Muslim. There has been a demand that, in the event of the partition of Bengal, Sylhet should be amalgamated with the Muslim part of Bengal. Accordingly, if it is decided that Bengal should be partitioned, a referendum will be held in Sylhet district under the aegis of the Governor-General and in consultation with the Assam Provincial Government to decide whether the district of Sylhet should continue to form part of the Assam province or should be amalgamated with the new province of Eastern Bengal, if that province agrees. If the referendum results in favour of amalgamation with Eastern Bengal, a Boundary Commission with terms or reference similar to those for Punjab and Bengal will be set up to demarcate the Muslim majority areas of Sylhet district and contiguous Muslim majority areas of adjoining districts, which will then be transferred to Eastern Bengal. The rest of the Assam province will in any case continue to participate in the proceedings of the existing Constituent Assembly.

Representation in Constituent Assemblies

14. If it is decided that Bengal and the Punjab should be partitioned, it will be necessary to hold fresh elections to choose their representatives on the scale of one for every million of population according to the principle contained in the Cabinet Mission's Plan of May 16, 1946. Similar elections will also have to be held for Sylhet in the event of it being decided that this district should form part of East Bengal. The number of representatives to which each area would be entitled is as follows:

Province		General	Muslims	Sikhs	Total
Sylhet District	...	1	2	Nil	3
West Bengal	...	15	4	Nil	19
East Bengal	...	12	29	Nil	41
West Punjab	...	3	12	2	17
East Punjab	...	6	4	2	12

15. In accordance with the mandate given to them, the repre-

sentatives of various areas will either join the existing Constituent Assembly or form the new Constituent Assembly.

Administrative Matters

16. Negotiations will have to be initiated as soon as possible on the administrative consequences of any partition that may have been decided upon:

(a) between the representatives of the respective successor authorities about all subjects now dealt with by the Central Government, including Defence, Finance and Communications;

(b) between different successor authorities and His Majesty's Government for treaties in regard to matters arising out of the transfer of power; and,

(c) in the case of provinces that may be partitioned, as to the administration of all provincial subjects such as the division of assets and liabilities, the police and other services, the High Courts, provincial institutions, etc.

Tribes of the North-West

17. Agreements with tribes of the North-West Frontier of India will have to be negotiated by the appropriate successor authority.

The States

18. His Majesty's Government wish to make it clear that the decisions announced above relate only to British India and that their policy towards Indian States contained in the Cabinet Mission Memorandum of May 12, 1946, remains unchanged.

Necessity for Speed

19. In order that the successor authorities may have time to prepare themselves to take over power, it is important that all the above processes should be completed as quickly as possible. To avoid delay, the different provinces or parts of provinces will proceed independently

as far as practicable within the conditions of this Plan. The existing Constituent Assembly and the new Constituent Assembly (if formed) will proceed to frame Constitutions for their respective territories : they will of course be free to frame their own rules.

Immediate Transfer of Power

20. The major political parties have repeatedly emphasized their desire that there should be the earliest possible transfer of power in India. With this desire His Majesty's Government are in full sympathy, and they are willing to anticipate the date of June 1948 for the handing over of power by the setting up of an independent Indian Government or Governments at an even earlier date. Accordingly, as the most expeditious, and indeed the only practicable way of meeting this desire His Majesty's Government propose to introduce legislation during the current session for the transfer of power this year on a Dominion Status basis to one or two successor authorities according to the decisions taken as a result of this announcement. This will be without prejudice to the right of the Indian Constituent Assembly to decide in due course whether or not the part of India in respect of which they have authority will remain within the British Commonwealth.

Further Announcements by Governor-General

21. His Excellency the Governor-General will from time to time make such further announcements as may be necessary in regard to procedure or any other matters for carrying out the above arrangements.

Annexure A

The Muslim majority districts of the Punjab and Bengal according to 1941 census (vide paragraph 5 of the statement) :

1. The Punjab :

Lahore Division	Gujranwala, Gurdaspur, Lahore, Sheikhupura, Sialkot.

Rawalpindi Division	Attock, Gujrat, Jhelum, Mianwali, Rawalpindi, Shahpur.
Multan Division	Dera Ghazi Khan, Jhang, Lyallpur, Montgomery, Multan, Muzaffargarh.

2. Bengal :

Chittagong Division	Chittagong, Noakhali, Tipperah.
Dacca Division	Bakerganj, Dacca, Faridpur, Mymensingh.
Presidency Division	Jessore, Murshidabad, Nadia.
Rajshahi Division	Bogra, Dinajpur, Malda, Pabna, Rajshahi, Rangpur.

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